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Art. I.—THE HESSINGS, FATHER AND SON: KILLAHDARS OF AGRA.

"Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
But Harry, Harry."

—*Shakespeare.*

"A soldier's ambition you shall not restrain . . .
For the son of a soldier a soldier must be."

—*Haynes Bayly.*

NOT often is an instance afforded of father and son successively holding the same military command. Such, however, was the case with regard to the historic Fort of Agra in the days of the Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia, its Commandants being John Hessing and his son George. Of either very little, comparatively speaking, is known.

It will perhaps be necessary to take a backward glance at those old days, over a century ago, embracing the period of, what has been styled by Mr. Keene, the "Great Anarchy," immediately before the British became the paramount power in Hindustan.

Asiatic rulers have always been desirous of engaging the services of Europeans, so long, of course, as the latter continued to be servants. With Indian rulers, too, in former days political existence was always more

or less a struggle for life. Hence they would employ at any cost European officers who were capable of drilling troops in camp and leading them in the field. But when such men had brought their battalions to a certain degree of efficiency it not infrequently happened that their Asiatic brother-officers became jealous of them, which circumstance sometimes led to serious consequences. Very strange, and not seldom romantic, were the lives of these European soldiers of fortune. To us their careers are more or less full of interest, as they should be of instruction to the student of history or the observer of human nature, furnishing as they do instances of individual capacity and possibilities under unusual conditions which are scarcely likely to re-arise in these more prosaic days.

Thus, among others, there flourished in Hindustan Count de Boigne,* the Savoyard General who rose to be Sindhia's right-hand man, and his successor, Perron; †

* Count Benoit de Boigne was born in 1751. He entered the French Army at the age of 17, but left it in five years for the Russian service, and was taken prisoner. On being released, he travelled *vid* Alexandria, Cairo and Suez and joined the 6th Madras N. I. in the E. I. Co.'s service in 1778, at Madras. Imagining himself neglected, he resigned and joined Madhava Rao Sindhia, who employed him to train his troops, rewarding him handsomely. He won for his master the battles of Patan and Mairta before he became Commander-in-Chief of Sindhia's army, defeating Holkar at Lakhairi, 1793. On Madhava Rao's death in the following year he continued to serve his successor Daulat Rao. Ill-health compelled him to resign his command in December, 1795. He left India in 1796 to settle in France. Here he was held in the greatest respect till his death in 1830. He left 20 millions of francs and had in his lifetime given away more than 3 ½ millions for benevolent and patriotic purposes.

† Pierre Cuillier, better known as General Perron, came out to India in 1780 at the age of 25. Deserting his ship, he entered the service, first of the Rana of Gohud and then of Bhartpur. In 1790 de Boigne took him into Sindhia's army. He saw service at the battles of Patan and Mairta, and lost a hand at the siege of Kanaund. On de Boigne's retirement in 1796 Perron succeeded him as General in command of Sindhia's army and defeated George Thomas. Both de Boigne and Perron are said to have instigated Napoleon's designs on India. He was with Sindhia's forces during the second Mahratta War of 1803, and in possession of Shah Alam, the Mogul Emperor. He dismissed all British officers from Sindhia's service, but after Lake's capture of Aligarh from Sindhia's forces, Perron was superseded by Ambaji Inglia and deposed from the command by Bourguignon. His life being threatened, he sought Lake's protection. His troops were defeated and, after losing most of the immense fortune he had accumulated, Perron returned about 1806 to France, where he lived in retirement until his death some 28 years later.

George Thomas,* the Irish Raja who carved out for himself a principality at Hansi; and in the Deccan the scarcely less celebrated Raymond.† For fuller information regarding these the reader may be referred to Mr. Keene's *Hindustan under Free Lances*, which is really the second edition of his book entitled *The Great Anarchy*, and to the stirring pages of the late Mr. Herbert Compton's *Military Adventurers of Hindustan*. The work of the latter author, allowing for occasional inaccuracies, is always graphic and entertaining.

THE DERRIDON FAMILY.

In Sindhia's service there was a Major Louis Derridon who commanded a battalion in John Hessing's corps. He was present at the battle of Ujjain when Holkar's cavalry defeated four of Sindhia's battalions, killing nearly all their officers. In this battle Derridon was wounded and taken prisoner, and Hessing had to pay Rs. 40,000 as his ransom to Holkar, although it is said Sindhia subsequently refunded the amount. Derridon after this entered Perron's army and

* George Thomas was an Irishman, who came out as a sailor in the Navy, and deserted his ship off Madras in 1781. He first entered the army of the Nizam and later on found his way up country. He commanded the army of Begum Sumru of Sardhana and left to control the forces of Appa Rao, but was later on reconciled to the Begum. He built Georgegarh, near Hariana, and established Hansi fort. He proclaimed his independence and, from Hansi, ruled over Hissar, Hansi, Sirsa, Rohtak, 1797-9. His ambitious projects were, however, put an end to by Sindhia's General, Ferron, who made him surrender in 1802. On being deposed, he died of fever on board his pinnace at Berhampore, en route to Calcutta, on the 22nd August 1802, aged 46. Besides being one of the most remarkable of adventurers, he was a man of acknowledged military genius, capacity and gallantry.

† Michel Raymond, son of a French merchant, came out in 1775, when only 20 years old, to trade in India. Under Haider Ali and Tipu he fought against the English, and in 1783 was made A.-D.-C. to Marquis de Bussy. After Bussy's death in 1785 he entered the service of Nizam Ali Khan, Subadar of the Deccan. A ten years he organised 15,000 native troops under European officers and suppressed the revolt of the Nizam's eldest son, Alijah. He was with his troops at the defeat of the Nizam's army by the Mahrattas at Kurdla. Raymond, who was much admired by the natives, died in 1798.

received a high command at the time that the General dispensed with the services of his English officers. He was one of the Agra garrison when the latter capitulated to Lake. Subsequently to this he seems to have gone on to Aligarh or Coel as the place used to be called. At this station his second daughter, Madeline, was married in the spring of 1836 to Mr. R. R. Sturt of the Bengal Civil Service.* She became a widow, dying at Agra in 1859, aged fifty-seven. Her sister Rosaline, the last surviving child of Major Derridon, married Mr. J. Smith of Agra and died at Meerut in 1889 at the age of eighty. A recent search among the Wills and connected papers preserved in the Calcutta High Court has elicited, with respect to the Derridon and Hessian families, some personal details which have not before been published. By his wife Ellen, presumably a Hindustani Christian lady (judging from the circumstance that she affixes to documents "her mark" instead of her signature) Major Louis Derridon had several sons. One of them, George Sutherland Derridon, died in 1845, and three years later letters of administration to his estate were granted to J. G. Waller, a Calcutta solicitor, acting on behalf of his mother, the aforesaid Mrs. Ellen Derridon. There were at least four other sons:—Francis, Alexander, James and William; of these Alexander, together with his wife and two or three children, was killed at Agra by the Mutineers on the 6th July 1857. One of the most handsome and charming books ever published about India is Mrs. Fanny Parkes's *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*.

* His brother, Lieutenant J. L. D. Sturt of the Bengal Engineers, married a daughter of Sir Robert Sale and fell with the rest of the army in the Khyber in 1842. Sturt is the surname of Lord Alington's family into which two Indian Viceroy's, the late Lord Northbrook and Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, married.

The authoress incidentally mentions that in a house at Coel, formerly the property of General Perron, Derridon was staying in 1838. His grandsons (adds Compton) were owners of the same property as late as 1871. Louis Derridon (to quote Mr. Keene) founded a family of farmers whose present representatives have preserved few signs of their European origin. Mr. Keene recalls that when he was District Judge of Agra in the 'seventies of the last century, members of this family came to his Court as litigants; they dressed like Europeans but spoke Hindustani. There are said to be persons of the name still living at Aligarh. It appears from a passing reference in Higginbotham's *Men whom India has Known* that the family once used to reside at Pondicherry.

The Major Derridon, of whom we have written above, is described by Compton as a "half-bred Frenchman." He had two sisters, one of whom, Madeleine by name, married the celebrated General Perron. The following sentence regarding Perron's last days in India occurs in Larousse: *Grand Dictionnaire universel du xix^e siècle*: " Se retira à Lucknow avec sa famille et ses richesses, dont les Anglais lui entèverent une partie." When her husband returned to France, about 1806, Madame Perron accompanied him and became the ancestress of several families of distinction. Both Perron's sons died without issue, but the eldest daughter became the Comtesse de Montesquiou Fzensac, whose grandson is the present Marquis de Brantes ;

* The following is taken from the *Aligarh District Gazetteer*:—"Close by [to the M. A. O. College] towards the Fort, is the ruined house called the Saheb Bagh, standing within a walled garden with a large gateway and guard-house on the roadside and bastions at each corner. This was the residence of de Boigne and Perron, and at one time it must have been a very handsome building. It was occupied for some years by the Derridon family and was last used by Mr. Smith as a Settlement Office."

while a younger daughter was the Comtesse de Rochefoucauld and died so recently as 1892.

The second Mademoiselle Derridon, Anne by name; was the wife of John Hessing who is mentioned below. On becoming a widow she came down with one or two of her younger children to Deegah, Dinapore, where she passed away on the 21st October 1820.

THE ELDER HESSING.

John William Hessing is described by Major L. F. Smith in his *Sketch of the Irregular Corps commanded by Europeans in the service of Native Princes*, as a good benevolent man and a brave soldier. A Dutchman born at Utrecht on the 5th November 1739, he came out to India at twenty-four years of age and entered from time to time the service of several Indian chiefs. It would be no easy matter to recount his various adventures before he obtained from de Boigne the command of the first two battalions the latter had raised for Sindhia, whose army had lately been organised. Hessing took part in several engagements in more than one of which he was wounded. On account of an unfortunate disagreement with de Boigne he had to leave. But not long after he was commissioned by Madhoji Sindhia, who was still favourably inclined towards him, to raise a *khás resala* or bodyguard for that Chief, and accompanied him to Poona. He had increased the number of his battalions to four when ill-health obliged him to resign in favour of his son George. This was, according to Keene, about 1794, but considering that at that time George Hessing was only twelve years of age, the later date, 1800, given by Compton, is more likely to be correct. Destined to see no more active service, John Hessing then assumed command of the Agra Fort. Here he appears to have gained the esteem of everybody with

whom he came in contact, owing to his high character and generous disposition. He was also famed for his hospitality which was extended to British visitors to Agra. The following interesting glimpse of him is given by Lord Metcalfe, then (March, 1801) a young Civilian and Assistant Resident at the camp of Daulat Rao Sindhia: "I breakfasted by invitation with the Dutch Commandant, Colonel J. Hessing. I found him with his son, who commanded in the engagement at Oojein, where his battalions were defeated; a M Marshall, an Englishman, and two others, whose names I have not learnt. The breakfast consisted of *kedgera* (rice and eggs), fish, game, fowls, curry and rice, stews, oranges, pears, pomegranates, eggs, bread-and-butter, cakes of all kinds, pancakes, and a number of other dishes which have escaped my recollection—amongst others I have forgotten to enumerate cheese. The Dutchman was as polite as a Dutchman could be, and very well-meaning, I am certain. On the following day I breakfasted and dined with him again." Hessing died in 1803 at Agra and is buried in the old Roman Catholic cemetery adjoining the Civil Courts. His monument, the most prominent one there, is said to have cost a lakh of rupees.* It is a red sandstone model of the Taj—to which building Victor Jacquemont, the French traveller, even preferred it! (Growse: *Mathura: a District Memoir*). The long epitaph inscribed on his mausoleum runs as follows:—

"John William Hessing, late a Colonel in the service of Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia, who, after sustaining a lingering and very painful illness for many years with a tone of

* An illustration, in which Hessing's monument is clearly shown, appears with an article on "The Rank and File who have given us India" in the *Graphic* of so recent a date as December 16th, 1911.

Christian fortitude and resignation, departed this life, 21st July, 1803, aged 63 years, 11 months, and 5 days. As tribute of their affection and regard, this monument is erected to his beloved memory by his disconsolate widow, Anne Hessing, and afflicted sons and daughters, George William Hessing, Thomas William Hessing and Magdalene Sutherland. He was a native of Utrecht in Holland and came out to Ceylon in the Military service of the Dutch East India Company in the year 1757, and was present at the taking of Candia by their troops. Five years afterwards he returned to Holland and came out again to India in the year 1763, and served under the Nizam of the Deccan. In the year 1784, he entered into the service of Madho Rao Sindhia and was engaged in the several battles that led to the aggrandizement of that Chief, and wherein he signalized himself so by his bravery as to gain the esteem and approbation of his employer, more particularly at the battle of Bhondagaon near Agra in the year 1787, which took place between this Chief and Nawab Ismael Beg. when he then became a Captain, and was severely wounded. On the death of Madho Rao Sindhia in 1793, he continued under his successor, Daulat Rao Sindhia, and in 1798, he attained to the rank of Colonel and immediately after to the command of the Fort and City of Agra, which he held to his death."

The same old cemetery it may be added, contains monuments to Walter Reinhard (better known as General Sámru; to four of Perron's children; to Miss Madeleine Pedron, daughter of Colonel Pedron, the Killahdar of Aligarh who capitulated to Lord Lake; to members of the Indian branch of the Bourbon family; to Geronimo Verroneo, a Venetian who was believed to have prepared and submitted to Shah Jehan plans and estimates for the Taj (died 1640), and to John Mildenhall, an Englishman, who had had interviews with the Emperor Akbar (1614):*

Hessing's younger son, Thomas, married at Deegah, 30th June 1819, Miss. Jane Frances Brown, third daughter of General Thomas Brown, commanding at Dinapore, and died some two or three years later, letters of administration to his estate being granted in 1822 to John Palmer the well-known Calcutta merchant. Hessings' daughter, Madeleine, had married Colonel Robert Sutherland regarding whom a few words, considering his family-relationship to the Hessings and others, may not be uninteresting.

COLONEL ROBERT SUTHERLAND

was a Scotchman and originally an officer in the 73rd Regiment from which he was cashiered. Entering in 1790, de Boigne's first brigade, he obtained command of the third and then of the second. On de Boigne's retirement in 1795, Sutherland made every effort to succeed him, but Perron managed to secure the Command for himself, and this led to a life-long feud between the two. In 1796, Sutherland was employed in reducing some revolted districts in Bundelkhand and bringing into obedience several petty rajahs, during which time

* See a letter on "Historical Graves" by Mr. W. N. Hoffstadt in the *Statesman* of the 19th and the *Pioneer* of the 23rd October 1911.

he captured some half-a-dozen forts. It would appear that there was a regular family-party in command of Sindhia's brigades, for Perron, the two Hessings, Sutherland, Derridon and even the Filoses* and Bourguien † were all said to have been more or less connected by marriage-ties. Though Sutherland was (as we have seen) nephew by marriage to Perron, having married the General's niece, they detested one another, and the Frenchman tried his best to get rid of the Scot, for it did not suit his policy that his second-in-command should be a British subject. In 1802, Sutherland was transferred to the command of the Second Brigade, which had escorted Perron down from Hindustan. This humiliation and "a remark of Perron's" (whatever that might have been) caused him to throw up his commission in disgust, and he returned to Agra "without leave," accompanied by a hundred cavalry. Sindhia was so much concerned at his departure, that Perron went personally to pacify his brigade, promising them a new commander of equal rank. Sutherland remained at Agra till the breaking-out of the war with the English and was (as we shall see) one of the officers confined by the mutinous Agra garrison. He was associated with George Hessing in arranging the terms of capitulation, and being released from his confinement

* The Filoses were originally a Neapolitan family whose descendants are still in service in the Gwalior State. One of them, Mr. Michael Filso, Chief Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja Scindia, has just been appointed a K. C. I. E. Michael Filose (the elder) commanded a regiment under Madhava Rao Sindhia. His sons were Fidèle and Jean Baptiste both in Sindhia's service in which the latter continued forty-seven years. For accounts of them, see Compton: *Military Adventurers*.

† Major Louis Bernard Bourguien (or Bourquin) came out to India with Admiral Suffrein. From Pondicherry he went on to Calcutta and enlisted in the E. I. Co.'s service. He is said to have become a cook in this city and a pyrotechnist at the old Calcutta "Vauxhall Gardens." Next he entered Begum Sumroo's service and that of Sindhia. He was defeated by George Thomas at Georgeghur but made him surrender at Hansi, and captured Rohtak. He had entered into a conspiracy against Perron and when the latter surrendered to the British, he held temporary command of Sindhia's forces until his defeat by Lake at Delhi, 1803.

was the bearer of the letter to General Lake which contained proposals for a cessation of hostilities, on the 13th October, 1803. Two or three days after this, he and all the European officers in the place found protection under the British flag.

On his withdrawal from Sindhia's service Sutherland, under favour of the Governor-General's proclamation, obtained a pension of Rs. 800 a month which he enjoyed for some years. He died at Muttra at the age of thirty-six on the 20th July, 1804—this date was apparently not known to Compton. A monument to his memory in the form of a sandstone obelisk raised on a high and substantial plinth, may be seen in what is known as "Seth's Garden," near the Sudder Bazar, Muttra. The following is the inscription on it:—

"In memory of Robert Sutherland, Colonel in Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia's Service, who departed this life on the 20th July 1804, aged 36 years. Also in remembrance of his son C. P. Sutherland, (a very promising youth) who died at Hindia, on the 14th of October 1801, aged 3 years."

His descendants are still living in England.

THE STORM OF AGRA.

One of the fullest and best accounts of the siege of Agra will be found in Colonel Hugh Pearse's *Life of Lord Lake*. But written as it is by a distinguished soldier, its details may be considered somewhat too technical for the ordinary reader. It is necessary, however, that the particulars of the assault should be summed up here in a few lines and we shall accordingly do so before proceeding to sketch the life of the younger Hessing.

Marching down from Delhi, Lake arrived at Agra (or Akbarabad) on 4th October 1803, and encamped with,

in cannon-shot of the fortress. He had been reinforced by 5,000 Ját cavalry from Bhartpur sent in by the Raja. The garrison consisted of 4,500 fighting men under the command of George Hessian who had with him half-a-dozen other European adventurers. The men, however, distrusting their white officers had broken into mutiny and placed them in confinement. Owing to this circumstance Lake could get no reply to his repeated summons to surrender! Over and above this force in the garrison there were occupying the glacis and the city three battalions of the troops that had been defeated at Delhi, and four battalions of Perron's Fifth Brigade under the command of a Major Brownrigg,* which had just arrived from the Deccan and were provided with twenty-six guns. The garrison had refused them admittance because there was within the fort a treasure amounting to some twenty-five lakhs, which it was feared, that if they were admitted, would have to be shared with them. In addition, there were twelve battalions of regular troops who took up a position in the rear of the besieging army, on the road to Delhi.

Before opening the siege, Lake determined first of all to move against the troops outside with the object of dislodging them from the city and the glacis. On 10th October he detached two battalions of Native Infantry under Brigadier Clarke to attack the city, and two battalions, under Colonel McCullough, Major Haldane and Captain Wolsley, to attack the enemy on the western and southern sides of the fort. The

* Brownrigg was known among the natives as *Bardani* Sahib, this being merely an unfortunate (or rather intemperate) corruption of his name! He was an Irishman by birth, held in such great esteem by Daulat Rao Sindhia that it is said even Perron became jealous of him. He inflicted one or two defeats on Holkar (1801) and co-operated with Arthur Wellesley against Dhundia Waugh one of Tipu Sultan's followers who, after his master's death, had escaped from Seringapatam. Eventually he entered the East India's Co.'s service and fell at the siege of Sirsa.

enemy maintained a stout resistance lasting for some days, but were at length defeated with a loss of 600 men and all 26 pieces of cannon—the loss on the British side being 218 men killed and wounded. A couple of days later 2,500 of the enemy surrendered on the condition that they should be taken into the British service on the same pay as they drew in Sindhia's service. The following day they marched into the British camp.

Lord Lake next turned his attention to the fort itself and on the 16th April, his batteries opened fire. A breach, made in the south-eastern bastion, was almost practicable when next day the garrison sued for terms of capitulation which after some discussion were granted.

The following incident connected with the storming of Agra finds a place in Major Thorn's *Memoir of the War in India*. It has already been mentioned that Colonel Sutherland was liberated from confinement by the besieged and sent to the British camp with a letter addressed to General Lake containing proposals for the surrender of the fort. To this, the Commander-in-chief returned a reply which was entrusted to a Captain Thomas Salkeld who accompanied Colonel Sutherland back into the citadel. Captain Salkeld on his admission into the fort saw that a great difference of opinion prevailed among the chiefs on the subject of the terms. But from this point we must let Thorn tell the rest of the story in his own words :—

Many difficulties were started and whilst he was endeavouring to obviate them, the firing recommenced from the fort, which unexpected occurrence induced him to hasten his return to camp about eight o'clock in the evening. The only communication with the place was by water, and when Captain Salkeld stepped into his boat with a light, the officer who commanded our battery of two twelve-pounders, which was on

the bank and completely commanded the river, thinking that some of the enemy were endeavouring to make their escape with treasure, let fly a rattling shot which had very near sunk the boat. This unwelcome salutation was about to be followed by another when the voice of our friend was heard exclaiming, "Don't fire! It is I; it is Captain Salkeld!" Luckily a repetition of the words re-echoed through the trenches, just in time to prevent the second shot which might have proved of fatal consequence, and Captain Salkeld came safe on shore where he was met by the officers who had run to the beach at the report of the gun.

On the 18th, the fort was occupied by the British. Into the hands of the victors there fell the twenty-five lakhs that had been hoarded within the fort (and to which by the way, a claim was made by Perron) besides some 164 pieces of cannon. Among the latter was a brass gun of 43 tons celebrated in history as the great gun of Agra. It was the intention of Lord Wellesley to send this trophy to England as a present to King George III, but when the gun was embarked on a country boat, it sank into the depths of the Jumna from whose sandy bed it has never since emerged. In one or two buildings in the Fort the visitor will notice that the lovely marble lattice-work has in some places the appearance of being damaged by cannon-shot.

THE YOUNGER HESSING.

In Grant-Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* the author has incorrectly described John Hessing as an Englishman and George Hessing as his son by a native mother. As we have already seen, George was the nephew of Major Derridon and Madame Perron. His mother, Anne Derridon, was doubtless of mixed descent, but a pure "native" she certainly was not. Born about 1781, he was known among the 'Indians' as *Jorus Sahab* just as George Thomas used to be called

Jowrij. "The son of a soldier, a soldier must be," says an old song, and George saw service early. Before attaining his eighteenth year, he had distinguished himself in conjunction with Fidèle Filose in cleverly capturing Sindhia's father-in-law, Ghatkai Rao by name, who was defying his son-in-law's authority. On his father's retirement George succeeded to the command of his brigade the strength of which he increased from four to eight battalions. Then accompanying Sindhia to Malwa he was sent out to defend Ujjain which was being threatened by Jeswant Rao Holkar. Although this was during the rainy season when the Nerbadda had overflowed its banks, Hessing marched forward with surprising rapidity. He was soon attacked by Amir Khan, the noted Pindari Chieftain, and kept busily engaged until the latter was joined by Holkar who had in the meantime defeated a Captain MacIntyre at Nūri, a place twenty-seven miles off. Holkar, however, finding himself less successful against Major Brownrigg, by whom he was repulsed, hurried up to assist Amir Khan in making an assault on Hessing's encampments. Here at Ujjain Hessing sustained a severe defeat, his line being broken by Holkar's cavalry charges and his troops annihilated. Of his eleven European officers, eight (Captains Graham, Urquhart and Macpherson and Lieutenants Montague, Meadows, Lany, Doolan and Haddon) were killed while three others (Derridon, Duprat* and Humpherstone) were taken prisoners, George himself

* Duprat (or Dupont as L. F. Smith calls him) was a French officer under Perron. In command of five battalions of infantry he attempted to surprise by night the camp of Amrait Rao, the Peshwa's brother from whom the Bais (widows of Mahadaji) had sought protection. Failing in his attempt, he was defeated with great loss (1798). The Chief was then induced to come for negotiation to Poona when it is said, Captain Drudgeon treacherously attacked and defeated him—even opening fire on the defenceless ladies' tents! Not long after this Drudgeon fell into disgrace and was superseded by Duprat.

escaped to his father to the Agra fort. Thither he had not long before sent on four battalions, and now received orders to march with them against George Thomas ; but through these, the gallant Irish Raja, himself fleeing to Hansi soon cut his way. Hessing again returned to Agra, made over the four battalions to Perron and succeeded his brother-in-law, Sutherland, in command of a brigade. But for a higher promotion he had not long to wait. In July 1803, the elder Hessing died and the younger became Commandant at Agra. References to his brief career of three months at that citadel will be found in the account of its investment by Lake. Suffice it to say that, although deposed by his mutinous troops, he was at the last moment put forward to negotiate terms for the garrison.

Of George Hessing, Colonel Skinner has said, that he was "too rich a man to defend the fort well." His fortune was estimated at five lakhs, besides money in the East India Company's funds. After his surrender, he retired to Chinsurah, then in the possession of his father's countrymen, and here he buried his son, a lad of some four summers. A flat grass-embedded stone in the old portion of the cemetery, which was visited by the Calcutta Historical Society four years ago, bears the following inscription :—"To the memory of R. W. Hessing, the son of Colonel G. W. Hessing, in the service of D. R. Scindhiah, who died 27th July 1806, aged 3 years, 8 months and 28 days." Very probably this baby-boy, then of eleven months, had lived through Lord Lake's siege of Agra !

George Hessing subsequently came down to Calcutta where, early in 1826, his death occurred in a house at Garden Reach, the fashionable suburb in those days. He is interred in the South Park Street

cemetery under a monument in the form of a domed chamber surmounted originally by five urns, one crowning the top and the others standing at each corner of the roof (the urn on the summit still exists), and surrounded by a spear-headed railing. The structure is a graceful one, although it cannot for a moment be compared with the grand mausoleum at Agra beneath which his father reposes. George Hessing's monument has recently, owing to its historic associations, been renovated by Mr. G. O'Connell, the energetic Superintendent of the Cemeteries under the Calcutta Christian Burial Board. Here is the inscription it bears :—" This monument is erected to the memory of Colonel George William Hessing, eldest son of the late Colonel John Hessing, who departed this life 6th January A. D. 1826, aged 44 years. Deservedly lamented by all who had the happiness of his acquaintance and more immediately by his family to whom he was an affectionate parent and sincere friend ' Blessed are the meek in spirit for they shall see God. ' "

It should not fail to strike anybody that the Scripture text quoted (or rather misquoted) above, forms a curious medley of the three separate beatitudes referring respectively to "the meek", "the poor in spirit" and "the pure in heart." In any case having regard to "the eternal fitness of things" it may be observed, with all reverence, that the attribute of meekness seems not particularly appropriate to a Commandant or *Killahdar*!

CONCLUSION.

George Hessing's widow, Anna, survived until 31st August, 1831, when her death took place at Barrackpore. She was buried at Calcutta, probably in her husband's grave, but there is no inscription to her memory. Her estate was a comparatively large

one valued at something below two lakhs and including some houses at Deegah. The Burial Register gives her age as thirty-eight only, so, in that case, she was too young to have been the mother of the little boy interred at Chinsurah. She left three sons:—John Augustus, who had married, at Calcutta in 1826, Miss Jane Brightman, the daughter of a once well-known merchant; William George, and George William who, named after his father, also followed the profession of arms. He married in 1831 a widow-lady, Mrs. Maria Ormsby. A daughter bearing the name of Magdalena (or Madeline) so common in the family and described at the time of her wedding as of Stockwell, Surrey, was married on 27th March, 1832, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Colonel John Geddes of the retired list. At Calcutta Amelia, the widow of William Hessing, (described as an "up-country trader"), was buried in 1832 (aged 36) and eight years later, a Miss Harriet Jane Hessing, Head Teacher of the Calcutta Central School, aged 40. A young man of this name is said to be now employed as a signaller in the Government Telegraph Department. But there can scarcely be anybody still living who entertains recollections of the youthful Eurasian Commandant of Agra Fort. Portraits of George Hessing and Robert Sutherland—fine, handsome-looking fellows—appear among those of other "Free Lances" in Mr. Keene's book.

"Their bones are dust,

Their swords are rust,

And their souls are with the saints, we trust."

E. W. MADGE and K. N. DHAR, M.A.

Art. II.—DUELLING DAYS IN OLD CALCUTTA.*

THE practice of deciding disputes by an appeal to single combat dates back to remote antiquity. It is not, however, till the Teutons begin to incorporate the custom as a part of their judicial scheme, that the "ordeal of combat" grows into an institution recognised by law. The duel of chivalry centering, as it often does, in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan dramatist, around treason charges and political wrangles generally, appears to be but a modification of the early German idea and passes away before the more liberal conceptions of the early seventeenth century. The ethics of the duel reduces itself once again to the standard of personal grievance, and the Europe of the trophied lists gives place to the Europe of pistol and rapier. Even in England such men as Pitt and Fox follow the "code of honour," and later no less a worthy than Daniel O'Connell eludes two successive challenges from Peel and Disraeli.

On Indian soil the earliest duel of which history takes any note is one recorded by Plutarch. On the occasion of Alexander's invasion of this country, the private animosities which existed between his two friends, Hephæstion and Craterus, broke out one day in a bitter quarrel. Says the Chronicle:—"They drew their swords, and came to blows. The friends of each were joining in the quarrel when Alexander interposed." He told Hephæstion publicly "he was a fool and a madman not to be sensible

* For some of the information embodied here I am indebted to an exhaustive article 'The Duel in India' by Mr. E. W. Madge, which appeared in the *English* in 1906.

that without his master's favour he would be nothing." He gave Craterus also a severe reprimand in private, and after having brought them together again, and reconciled them, he swore by Jupiter, Ammon and all the other gods "that he loved them more than all the men in the world, but if he perceived them at variance again, he would put them both to death, or him at least who began the quarrel." This is said to have had such an effect upon them, that they never expressed any dislike to each other, even in jest afterwards.

No less attractive than the foregoing account is the story of Clive and the young bully whom he accused of cheating at cards. The anecdote forms the subject of Browning's poem "Clive" (Dramatic Idylls, 2nd series), but the original version is as follows:—As a result of the accusation, a duel ensued, and Clive's shot went wide. His opponent, who had reserved his own fire, now walked up and putting his pistol to the head of the defenceless youth, called upon him to beg for life. This Clive did, but when the other demanded an apology and a retraction of the charge of cheating Clive refused to give either. "Fire and be damned to you," he answered, "I said you cheated, I say so still, and I will never pay you." The matter ended by the surprised bully throwing down his weapon with the remark that Clive was mad.

In the days of John Company duelling appears to have been a pastime, quite as fashionable with the "nababs" of Madras and Calcutta as with the blades of London and Paris. Carey in his "Good Old Days" tells us how a Major Brown challenged to single combat Sir John Macpherson, Governor-General of India. The cause of the quarrel may be partially

gleaned from a despatch of the Court of Directors dated the 12th March 1788: "Having read and deliberately considered a publication, which appeared in the newspapers entitled 'Narrative relative of the duel between Sir John Macpherson and Major James Brown, etc.,' we came to the following resolution." Here follows a long-winded censure on Brown for having demanded an apology for a statement which Sir John had caused to be made, while acting not in the capacity of a private gentleman, but in that of a high public official. The paragraph which roused the fiery Major's wrath appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* and was made by authority of Government at the head of which Sir John as Governor-General then was.

In Calcutta the growth of the duel was fostered by a social atmosphere peculiarly adapted to its exotic nature. Immorality was rampant and European society with but few honourable exceptions, little short of depraved. The purifying influence of cultured women was a thing unknown, and the few Anglo-Indian ladies who played the ghastly rôle of leaders of society, turned out the most veritable of firebrands. The young men who were eager competitors for their smiles had no healthy occupation in which to exercise mind and body during their hours of leisure, consequently drinking and gambling were widely prevalent among the male section of the white community, and the chances on which huge sums were often absurdly staked—the turn up of a particular card, or the number of people that would pass a street window in a given time—serve in themselves to indicate the readiness with which excitement in any form was always welcomed. Brawls were frequent and jealousy of the bitterest a constant source of enmity. A young man could hardly pass through

the period of his service without being subjected to a challenge, and even the mildest of seniors were on occasion the most pointed of insulters. The following may serve as an illustration of the typical procedure. Major T. detects that Captain J. is cheating at cards, or, shall we say, that Captain J. has relieved the gallant major of his beautiful wife? Anyhow the combat is inevitable. There is a dispute over the card table or a pointed insult by the injured man to the disturber of his peace, perhaps a blow. Then the parties withdraw and the seconds meet to settle preliminaries. In the early hours of the following morning a party of four accompanied maybe by a surgeon alights under "the two trees of destruction," at Kidderpore, shots are exchanged, and the Captain pays the penalties of his misdemeanour with his life. Cholera is given out by his brother officers as the cause of death and his mortal remains are interred with military honours. The survivor spends the rest of his days with the cheering consciousness of having sent a fellow-creature to a premature grave, or perchance a few more "successful affairs," turns him into a callous bully.

In the far greater majority of duels fought in Calcutta, pistols were the weapons used; nor is an authentic exception wanting to prove what seems the rule. The *Calcutta Chronicle* of the 21st May 1793 notices an affair which came off with small swords within an apartment. With this exception, however, the duellists of Old Calcutta were, like their European prototypes, lovers of the open air, and the site referred to above as that commanded by "the two trees of destruction" appears to have been the fashionable *venue* for most "affairs of honour" within the city. Duels were also fought at Chandernagore and Chinsura, and

an incident is recorded in which the Dutch Governor of the latter place was once concerned.

Though military men all over India were excessively addicted to the practice, duelling was by no means a monopoly of the warrior caste. Civilians were often involved and Calcutta records teem with notices of affairs in which officers had little to do. Under "Deaths" in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 2nd September 1790 appears the following:—"On Monday Mr. Webb, who was unfortunately wounded in a duel a few days ago." Almost half a century later in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1835 there is a notice which runs: "A duel between Messrs Prinsep and Osborne was terminated by the accidental discharge of the former's pistol which wounded him severely in the leg. The cause of the difference is not stated." A third account would appear to be a little out of the ordinary. "At the Sessions of 1791, Mr. C. Fenwick was found guilty of a misdemeanour in sending a challenge to W. Larkins, Esq. Besides being fined Rs. 2,000, he was imprisoned for one month, and had to furnish security for his good behaviour himself in the sum of Rs. 10,000, and two sureties of Rs. 5,000 each. This exemplary punishment did not deter others. But as a matter of fact a victorious duellist when tried for manslaughter managed, in nine cases out of ten, to get off scot free."

J. H. Stocqueler, Editor of the *Englishman*, and J. Silk Buckingham, of the *Calcutta Journal*, were in their time concerned in duels. In 1837 a discussion had arisen between the former and Captain Sewell as regards the quality of the food supplied to the residents at Kidderpore House, and the editor refusing to retract his criticism was challenged by the officer.

The captain secured the services of a brother officer and Mr. Stocqueler was attended by Mr. Buckingham. The meeting took place at Howrah. The soldier, firing first, missed, the civilian discharged his pistol in the air, and the affair came to an end by the seconds declaring that "honour" was satisfied.

Any account of the Calcutta Duel would be woefully incomplete without a reference to the two historic encounters of Clavering *vs.* Barwell and Francis *vs.* the Governor-General which took place near Kidderpore in the time of Warren Hastings. Busteed's "Echoes from Old Calcutta" is the only work which gives a detailed account of these encounters.

Beveridge in his History of Backerganj records an instance of violation of faith and criminal malversation none too rare in the days of which we write. From this it would appear that Barwell held the lease of a couple of salt farms, which he sublet to two Armenians, on the understanding of an extra consideration to himself of one lakh and twenty-five thousand rupees. Ultimately one of these merchants complained that Barwell having taken the money, dispossessed him, and relet the farm to someone else for another lakh of rupees. When charged with it, the Member of Council is said to have naïvely confessed to the act in such a manner as to imply his conviction that he was perfectly within his rights in wishing to add thus to his fortune. According to Busteed this account is highly suggestive, in so far as it goes to show that the quarrel on General Clavering's part was not altogether without justification. At a meeting of Council at Calcutta in 1775, General Clavering rose to accuse Mr. Richard Barwell of malversation in the Salt Department. "How do you," said he, "hold this act (the holding by

Barwell of salt farms for his own benefit) to be consistent with your oath to the Company." Barwell replied with heat "Whoever says I have done anything inconsistent with my oath to the Company is a rascal and a scoundrel." Clavering, incensed at the insult, put his hand to his sword and Barwell bowed and retired. Of the duel itself there are two accounts. According to Grand's narrative, the meeting came off on the following morning, each man being attended, as was customary, by his seconds. The General fired and missed, but Barwell declined to shoot. Clavering fearing that this was due to an attachment the other was known to have conceived towards his daughter, called out to his opponent that he stood no chance of ever being allied to his family, and that unless he returned the fire he himself would discharge another pistol. At this point, however, the seconds interposed to declare that honour was satisfied and Barwell still declining to fire was allowed to retire. The second account is given in a letter written by Charles Grant, a Bengal Civilian, who was at that time Secretary to the Board of Trade, and differs in some material points from the preceding narrative. Neither of the parties, according to this version, were attended by seconds and the meeting, at Barwell's request, had been postponed four days. They met on the fifth day at 5 A.M. on the new road to Budge Budge and walked on together till a convenient place was reached. "Which distance do you chose, Sir?" enquired Barwell. "The nearer the better," replied the General. It was fixed at eight yards and the two men faced each other. "Will you fire, sir," said Clavering. "No sir, you will please to fire first," replied the other. "Is your pistol cocked, Mr. Barwell?" "Yes sir." "You

will give me leave to look, sir; I did not hear the drawing of the cock." He advanced, satisfied himself, looked at the priming too, then retired to his stand, and fired. The ball passed through Barwell's thighs, grazing the inner part of one. "Fire, sir," said the General. "No sir, you will give me leave to decline. I came here in obedience to your summons, and think that I may now without any imputation to my character declare that I have no enmity, and that I am sorry for what is past. "Sir," answered the General, now very much excited, "I must insist upon your firing, if you continue to refuse you will oblige me to fire again." Mr Barwell repeated his reluctance to carry the matter further, and his desire to end it by accommodation in such a manner as should be satisfactory to the General. At length the latter yielded so far as to consent, with many conditional clauses, to accept of an apology before the same persons, and in the same place where the affront had been given, stipulating particularly that if the apology should not be entirely satisfactory, it should pass for nothing. Upon this they returned, the apology was made in the most ample manner, and the affair thus terminated. Busted is inclined to think the latter account too circumstantial to be entirely correct.

The encounter between Hastings and Phillip Francis took place shortly after. Hastings boiling with indignation at his opponent's ministerial deceits and determined to make an attempt to get rid for good and all of the malignant antagonist who opposed him at every turn, had written in one of the minutes of the Council a strenuous denunciation of Francis and his public acts. Fully aware of the insulting character of the indictment and apprehending the nature of his antagonist's reply,

the Governor-General sent Mrs. Hastings up the river, and waited till Francis, who was at the time suffering from a slight fever, was sufficiently recovered to attend Council. Then he read out the paper, weighted with insinuations and insults such as no man living would ever disregard, and on the evening of the same day received from Francis a challenge to combat. The parties met in the early morning in the vicinity of Belvedere, the seconds being Colonel Watson and Colonel Hugh Pearse. The question arising as to the selection of a suitable site for the exchange of shots, Francis suggested a clump of trees or bushes a little removed from the main road, but to this Hastings objected on the score of darkness. The next suggestion, this time probably by the Governor, was that the encounter should take place in the road itself, but to this was objected the extreme publicity of the thoroughfare and the likelihood of interruption by people out for a morning ride. At last it was decided to walk along the road, which at one time formed the western walk of the Belvedere grounds, until a suitable site should present itself. This was done and before long the party came upon a dry and retired spot, a little way back from the old road that lay between Belvedere and Alipore House. Here, as both principals were ignorant of the procedure that was to be followed, Watson measured out fourteen paces and the combatants were instructed as to how to stand and when to fire. Francis, it is said, expressed admiration at the sight of his antagonist's pistols. The powder in his own weapon being damp, Hastings permitted him to come down twice to the present in order to make sure of the charge. The word was given, both men fired, and Francis fell. Hastings immediately ran to his side, saying that

if anything serious had happened to his opponent he would surrender himself to the Sheriff. Pearse ran to call assistance, and returned with a sheet, which was wrapped round the wounded man in order to stop the bleeding. He was placed in a palanquin, and since it was considered advisable to convey him to town, was carried towards Pearse's carriage. But the progress of the bearers was stopped by a broad ditch or waterway—probably Tolly's Nullah—and it was then decided to take Francis to Belvedere. Here he was attended by two medical men, one of them being Hastings' own physician.

Passing from these well-known encounters it is curious to find that the brilliant and great-hearted missionary, Alexander Duff, was on one occasion very near to becoming the recipient of a challenge, the seeker of "satisfaction" being Mr. Longueville Clarke, a leading Calcutta barrister and reputed to have been one of the finest chess players in the world. Although the duel did not come off, a brief history of the difference may not be found uninteresting. A youth named Brijo Nath Ghose had been removed from the Hare School owing to the purely secular nature of instructions which his father feared might result in atheistical tendencies and had been placed in charge of the missionaries. After some time the lad sought to become a Christian and his father instituted proceedings against his instructors on the plea of the boy's minority. Clarke, who was the counsel for the plaintiff, succeeded in obtaining a decree in favour of his client, with the result that the boy, much against his will, was compelled to return to his father. It is interesting to note, however, that three years later the youth was baptised. During the trial Clarke bitterly maligned

the missionaries and came out as the champion and upholder of the view "The rights of Hindoo parents are too often invaded by missionaries in Calcutta." Duff, incensed at the injustice and unreason of the lawyer's sweeping assertions, wrote to Clarke challenging him to prove his statements. The result was a protracted correspondence between the pair, in the course of which the lawyer signally failed to establish any proof whatsoever. Just about this time Mr. Stocqueler had converted the *John Bull* into the vigorous *Englishman* and in that journal the missionary published the entire correspondence. "There are," says George Smith, Duff's biographer, "passing in the twenty octavo pages of Duff's alternate scorn and ridicule, reasoned demonstration, and rhetorical appeal, of which Junius would have been worthy, had that pitiless foe fought with sacred weapons, and for other than self-seeking ends. The reply of the barrister was the mocking laugh of Mephistopheles, the expression of a desire to secure the missionary 'for our Calcutta Drury.' The press and all society were disgusted and indignant at the lawyer assailant to whom was applied the couplet from Younge's Epistle to Pope

'He rams his quill with scandal and with scoff'

'But 'tis so very foul it won't go off.'"

The defeated barrister expressed his intention of seeking "satisfaction" and went so far as to consult a friend about the sending of a challenge; but in consideration of the calling of his victorious antagonist, it was never despatched.

In duelling days there existed, not far from Calcutta, an institution known as the Baraset Military College, where young men, fresh from English schools, were prepared for cornetships in the Company's army.

Mischief and rowdyism were the order of the day at Baraset College and many *fracas* took place which as often as not ended in duels. Mr Madge records the instance of one which occurred in 1808. The combatants were two cadets, Robertson and Kennedy by name, and the affair led to a Government Resolution on the subject. Robertson was shipped off to England, while his opponent's offence was overlooked owing to the provocation he had received. Further references to events of the kind are to be found in the autobiography of General Sir J. B. Hearsey. "On one occasion," says he, "a young subaltern from a native regiment was shot dead; and in another duel a young man was wounded near the ankle which caused lameness for a time." The well-known general was himself a member of the college, and, what is more, came on one occasion to be involved in an affair that might very well have ended in the exchange of shots. Writing of his life at the college he says: "I usually studied (Urdu) by candle light, as my days were passed in sport and I was often disturbed by the young men who saw me thus employed. They threw clods into my room, which frequently hit me or my *moonshee*, or broke the shade of my lamp and put out the light. One close night being disturbed in this manner, I ran hastily to the open venetian window, and caught a glimpse of one of the cadets, endeavouring to hide himself near the wall of the barrack. I said, 'I know who you are, and you shall hear from me to-morrow morning.' About two minutes afterwards the door opened and a young man came smiling in and saying, 'So as usual you are studying at night.' In him I recognised the offender, and seizing the thick quarto volume of W. Gilchrist's dictionary, I rose from my chair and struck

him down with it, telling him to quit the room, and that I should be ready to give him the satisfaction due from one gentleman to another on the morrow. He never called upon me, for he must have known that he was in the wrong and had brought the blow upon himself."

A valuable contribution to the literature of the Anglo-Indian duel is to be found in Mr. H. G. Keene's book "A Servant of John Company." In the course of an instructive inter-chapter on the subject, he gives an account of some affairs that took place in Calcutta. "There is," says he, "a Bengal civilian still living in vigorous retirement, who had several scalps to his wampun; and an officer of the days here referred to, was to be seen limping about Calcutta maimed for life by this civilian with whom he had a dispute in a ball room, which led to the latter declaring that he would spoil his dancing for him. The same gentleman had a brother in the Bengal Cavalry, and a man quite of his own kidney of which frolicsome pair a story used to be current which may be worth repeating. It was to the effect that they met at the dinner table of a certain native regiment's mess, a pair of cadets who were on their way up-country to join for the first time. These two youngsters amused, or perhaps bored the duelling brothers, by a warm fraternal cordiality and an apparent ignorance of the world, and on this they resolved to practise. After the rest of the company had left, the four with whom the story deals were playing out a rubber, in the course of which Damon and Pythias, being antagonists, got into a wrangle which the wicked seniors assured them demanded instant solution by single combat. It was faintly objected that the night was too dark, but the brothers overruled the objection with the remark that each of them

would hold up a wall light. Accordingly the party proceeded to the mess compound, but on the way one of the cadets contrived to nudge the other, and they exchanged furtive but meaning looks without being observed. On reaching the field of honour, the intended combatants were placed opposite to each other with loaded pistols in their hands, at twelve paces, while their friendly advisers took up the other corners, each holding a light. The word being given the youngsters fired, a sound of broken glass was heard and each lamp fell to the ground extinguished, from the simultaneous and well-aimed discharge." Mr. Keene looks back on a personal experience of his as a good illustration of a saying of those days to the effect that the chief danger of duelling was from the seconds. He was staying with a friend at Cossipore, when one day, a man whom he knew slightly drove up to the house and requested him to convey a challenge to an officer of native infantry at Barrackpore. The nature of the offence given appeared to be neither clear nor grave, and he undertook the duty much against his will, and only because the laws of duelling rendered it imperative that he should do so. He drove with the man to Barrackpore, and leaving him at Testillion's Hotel proceeded to the officer's quarters. They were at dinner when he arrived, but the other party divining the nature of his errand sent a brother officer to interview him in the ante-room. This proved to be a jovial blade—one of those who did not wait for dinner to inspire him with adventitious gaiety, and who already, although the hour was by no means late, was clearly under the influence of refreshments. With elaborate politeness he informed the visitor that a meeting was the only satisfaction and Keene returned to the hotel very much upset at the prospect of what the

morrow held. He spent a bad night, foreseeing nothing less than wounds, death, and the dismissal of the whole party. But morning found his acquaintance of the night before in a milder frame, and written explanations were exchanged, which, though they proved more satisfactory to the seconds than to the parties themselves, terminated the matter, much to the relief of the former.

The details of three noteworthy duels were given a few years ago by Mr. G. W. Rhe-Phillipe of Simla, who, in the course of an interesting letter to the *Englishman*, stated :—

“ The Phillips-Sheppard duel took place at Calcutta under the great tree in the Kidderpore Road on the 8th October 1808, between Lieutenant Henry Phillips of the 1-26th N.I., aide de-camp to the Governor-General (Lord Minto), and Lieutenant Will Sheppard of the 2-25th N.I., aide-de-camp to Major-General Sir Evan Baillie, commanding at the Presidency. The quarrel between these two officers originated in some remarks made by Sheppard relative to the conduct of Phillips in ‘ separating from his wife,’ which was stigmatized as infamous, and resulted in the death of Phillips who fell dead at the first fire shot through the head. A remarkable feature of this duel was, that it was fought after dark and that there were no seconds, Phillips having gone to the ground accompanied only by his bearer carrying a lantern, while Sheppard was attended only by a native Christian servant, of the class, then as now, mis-styled Portuguese—one Peter D’Cruz. Sheppard was afterwards tried in the Supreme Court for murder, but was found guilty of the less heinous crime of manslaughter only. The details of the trial with all the prosy and platitude-laden speeches and addresses, made on the

occasion, may be read at length in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1808—chronicle pp. 109-17 Mrs. Phillips, the remote cause of this encounter, was a daughter of Major Richard Henry of the 1-26 N.I. She survived her husband a little more than four months dying on the 17th February 1809 at the early age of twenty years, and they both lie buried in the Old North Park Street Cemetery (see p. 181 of the *Bengal Obituary*) but the inscription on Phillips' tomb gives not the smallest hint of the manner of his death, Sheppard went on the expedition to Java in 1811 and died there in the following year.

"The Tulloch-Nelson duel was fought at Fulta Ghat, Barrackpore, on the 26th July 1845 between Lieutenant Stamford William Raffles Tulloch of the 22nd N.I. and Mr. Charles Nelson of the P. & O. Company's service, the seconds being Ensign Charles William Blunt of the 13th N.I. and Mr. Noel Fenwick. The quarrel had its origin in a letter which had been published some time before in the *Englishman* and of which Lieutenant Tulloch was supposed to be the author. The encounter resulted in the death of Lieutenant Tulloch, who received a dangerous wound of which he died on the 29th. Blunt, Nelson and Fenwick were tried before the Supreme Court for murder, but the legal evidence being insufficient to sustain the charge, they were declared not guilty; apparently, however, the affair cost Blunt his commission, for in 1847 he was removed from the service by order of the Court of Directors and it is very probable that this was done as a punishment for his share in the duel. The details of the trial will be found in the *Englishman* and the *Harkaru* of the 20th August 1845.

"In addition to the above I might also mention the Sanders-Bermond duel, fought at Ghiretti Ghat

near Chandernagore on the 17th May 1849, between Captain Arthur Sanders, 44th Bengal Native Infantry, Assistant Quartermaster-General at Calcutta, who was attended by Captains H. Fraser and C. S. Guthrie, both of them Bengal Engineers, and M. Charles Bermond, a French Medical Practitioner of Calcutta. The quarrel between the parties had its origin in Captain Sanders' attention to the step-daughter of Dr. Bermond which the worthy medico looked upon as mere flirtation and resented accordingly. Captain Sanders received the fire of his opponent but declined to fire in return, greatly to the Frenchman's rage and disgust. I am credibly informed that so great was Dr. Bermond's indignation at Captain Sanders' refusal to fire at him that at a subsequent period he made the matter the subject of a special letter of complaint addressed to the Commander-in-Chief Sir Charles Napier."

Although the decay of the practice of duelling in Great Britain was inevitably followed by its decay in India, the death of the duel was a lingering one. According to the second and fifth of "the articles made by His Majesty for the better government of the forces," duelling became an offence against Military laws; but it was not until the year 1843 when an association of officers, civilians and noblemen was formed to discourage duelling, that the tide of a new public opinion succeeded in making any headway against the time-honoured custom. In India especially, where young officers were invariably high-spirited and quarrelsome, duelling appears to have been regarded as an ingrained element of soldierly feeling. Generals and governors everywhere were men of the old school with ideas of honour which nothing could shake. At the head of them all was the great

Hardinge, who had been distinguished in the Peninsular War, been wounded at Ligny, and had acted as second to Wellington on an occasion when the Iron Duke came out in person. It required a new generation to write "Finis" to the crimson catalogue. Of that catalogue, however, let us not take leave before reverently recording from Hickey's Gazette of August 1780: "A few days ago a dispute arose between two young gentlemen not many miles from Serampore about a young lady of sooty complexion. The friends of both parties were under some apprehension that a duel would have been the consequence, but it happily ended in reciprocal bastinado." It is one more instance of the trifling causes that gave rise to dark disputes.

HENRY KHUNDKAR.

Art III.—THE KOL REBELLIONS OF 1832-33.

THE great rebellions which occurred in the district of Ranchi in the first half of the nineteenth century have given rise to three versions. It shows how a given fact may be twisted into innumerable ramifications, in order to suit the predisposed susceptibilities of individual cultures and national idiosyncrasies.

The Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur had lived in their mountainous fastnesses and woody glens, without coming much in contact with the outside world, till the British suzerainty asserted its rights over their possessions.

The Munda-Oraon version is at once silly and superficial. The Nagbansi version is based on actual occurrences, seen and handed down by persons who took part with the Company's officials in the suppression of the rising. It is both straightforward and genuine. The official version extracted from the late Colonel Dalton's "Ethnography" and the Statistical Account of the Lohardaga District by H. H. Risley, 1877, is cautious and complimentary to the other two accounts. The first version partakes of the Romantic and Mythological age of India, as the Kols of the Chota Nagpur plateau still live in the India of Aryavarta. The great Chhatri family of Nagbansis represent the mediæval civilization of Hindustan, brought about by the union of the Turkoman chivalry of Central Asia and the pre-Aryan simplicity of Jharkhand and Jangal Mahals.

I. MUNDA-ORAON VERSION.

The horse belonging to the thanadar (Police Officer) of Hatia used to damage the rayats' crops. On account of this the raiyats, at the instance of Lal Loknath Sai, of Hatia, cut the legs of the police officer's horse. The police officer reported to his superiors that the people of that part of the country were *badmashes* and daring, and that they were committing illegalities, being excited by Lal Loknath Sai. The Lal was chalanned to Sherghati and there sent to jail. On account of this, the Lal secretly informed the people to rebel. On account of their rebellion, the Lal was taken to task by the Sarkar. The Lal said, "What can I do from here : If I am set free, I will try to put down the rebellion." The Lal being liberated, came home (Hatia) and duly informed the Sarkar that none of that locality were rebellious. It was the work of the people of Kuchang—people who had long noses and ears. The Lal led the men of the Sarkar towards Kuchang. He secretly instructed the Kuchang Mundas to cut trees and obstruct the passes. This was done, so the troops could not proceed up. Similarly their rear, too, was obstructed, so they could not retreat. As soon as the pass was closed, the Mundas began to shoot arrows from the hills. Many were killed. The son of the Rajah of Deo who came to assist the English was killed at Kuchang.

The following Hindi song called *kharia* in commemoration of the event is still sung by the Oraons and Mundas.

SONG KHARIA.

Deo Raja Kē Larka tira sē mara
 Hari-gela kapetan sahib.
 Deo Raja kē larka tira sē mara.

TRANSLATION.

Deo Raja's son was shot dead by arrows.

The Captain sahib was defeated.

Deo Raja's son was shot dead by arrows.

* 2. THE NAGBANSI VERSION.

The following particulars were told me by an old and well informed Thakur, who is a prominent member of the family of the Nagbansi Maharaja of Chota-Nagpur. His version can be verified from the official version and gives some interesting details, which are not found in the official account.

In Sambat 1888 the Mundas of Kuchang rebelled. The raiyats of Parganas Siri and Udaipur joined them. By and bye the Kols (Oraons and Mundas) of Lohardaga and Pithauria also made common cause with the above men and assaulted all those who were of different nationality. The latter (Kumhars, Bhuinyas, etc.,) with the exception of a few took, out of fear, the side of the Kols. The fighting took place in Paus 1888 Sambat. Two of the Lals of Sirgi were killed. Konwar Srinath Sah of Palkot was so much frightened that he sent for Lal Deonath Sah. Both Konwar Srinath Sah and Lal Deonath Sah went to Patna and informed Colonel Russel of what had taken place. Colonel Russel came to Deo (near Sherghati) and asked Raja Matar Bhan Sing Deo for help. The Raja accompanied the Colonel with 300 soldiers, *i.e.*, Colonel Russel, too, had his own soldiers and guns and arrived at Pithauria. At Pithauria he fought an engagement with the rebellious Kols. Many Kols, who fought with arrows, were killed. Colonel Russel encamped at the Hatia gardens, where he constructed his quarters (bungalow). The sawars (troops) used to kill the Kols whenever they saw them. The Colonel ordered to kill all black heads

Deo Nath Sah said that if all were killed the country would be desolated. Colonel Russel replied how then there could be made any difference between the guilty and not guilty. Deo Nath Sah advertised that those who wanted to save themselves must come to him. Many Kols went to Lal Deo Nath Sah, who advised them to wrap red cloths on their heads. Those who had red *pagris* were not killed, and those who had not were killed. The Raja of Deo went home after peace was restored.

Again in Chait-Bysakh, the Kols of Sirgi and Gijo rebelled. Lal Jit Nath of Gijo and Lal Kapil Nath Sah of Sirgi (whose two brothers were killed) informed of this rising to Colonel Russel who went to Sirgi. Colonel Russel and the Lal Zemindars, by order of the Colonel, killed many Kols. Order was soon restored and Colonel Russel came back to Hatia. Colonel Russel left in Sambat 1889.

In the very same year (1889 Sambat) the Kols assembled at Kuchang and upon Dumuri Pahar. On this Kuwar Harinath Sah of Gobindpur, Pargana Sonpur, sent Babu Gandharb Sah to Sherghati and informed Colonel Wilkinson. Colonel Wilkinson accompanied by 200 European troops arrived at Kuchang. The Kols were assembled upon Dumuri Pahar which is situated in village Jikilata. Gandharb Sah too with the Mankis and troops went to help the authorities on behalf of the Kuwar of Gobindpur. As soon as the white soldiers went to the *vale*, the Kols commenced to throw arrows from over the hillock. All the white soldiers were killed. Colonel Wilkinson and Babu Gandharb Sah fled stealthily. The Kols took possession of the dead soldiers' bugles and tanbura (tambour) and began to beat them. Gandharb Sah brought Colonel Wilkinson

to Gobindpur. He advised Colonel Wilkinson to conciliate the Mankis, who were apparently on his side, but inwardly on the side of the Kols. The Mankis were sent for, received with honour, and head-dresses were wrapped on their heads. The Mankis requested that they should be permitted to distil liquor free of license. Colonel Wilkinson gave the necessary permission and granted *sanads*. After that the Colonel was going away, but at the request of the Thakur, Lals and others, he fixed his head-quarters at Ranchi and his troops were stationed at Duranda cantonment. The Kuwar and Lals made over the power of police to the English in 1889 Sambat.

3. OFFICIAL VERSION.

Chota Nagpur was ceded to the British in 1765. In 1772 the Maharaja exchanged turbans with the Company's representative, Captain Camac, and duly acknowledged himself as a vassal of that power. Up till 1816 or 1817 the British did not interfere with the native administration. In that year the estate was placed under the Magistrate of Ramgarh, who held court at Sherghati and Chatra. Natives of Behar being considered foreigners, were appointed police officers of the country and occasionally the Nazir of the Magistrate was deputed with extraordinary powers to inspect and report on the administration. The changes in Government were not quite to the taste of the people. British rule was made peculiarly distasteful to the aboriginal races by the fact that all the native subordinates were from Behar and Bengal. Neglected by their new masters, oppressed by aliens, and deprived of their former means of redress, the Kols rose in a serious revolt in 1813. The Nagbansi Raja of Chota Nagpur and the Darogas appointed by the

Company's Government could not redress their grievances. The aliens—Hindus and Mahomedans—had obtained from the sub-proprietors farms of Kol villages over the heads of Kol headmen. The distant British Law Courts were not the proper tribunals that could mete out justice to those simple aborigines. They often found that they had not only no rights in the lands but were considered to be turbulent rebels besides. From 1812 to 1831 the Kols revolted constantly and sometimes with success.

A brother of the Maharaja who was the holder of maintenance grant of Pargana Sonpur, settled certain villages over the heads of Mankis and Mundas with aliens. Complaints against Hindu and Mahomedan farmers of their oppression were frequent and loud. The honour of their females was not always respected. These aggrieved people at last assembled on the 11th December 1831 at Lanka, a village in Tamar. They addressed thus:—The Pathans and Sikhs have dishonoured us, the Kuwar Harnath Sah of Gobindpur has forcibly deprived us of our villages. Our lives are no longer of value. We are all brethren, let us act together." They raided villages, carried off cattle, plundered and burnt villages and wounded, killed and burnt some of their victims. The Nazir of Sherghati was sent to pacify the Mundas, but they heeded him not. By the middle of January 1832 the Mundas and Oraons had all entered with zeal into the spirit of insurrection. The country was all prepared for such an event. There were no troops, the police stations were generally abandoned and even the hereditary zemindars, connections of the Nagbansi Raja, sought safety in flight. In every pargana the villages of the *Sads* were destroyed, and those who fell into their hands were murdered. The Rajas of Rahe,

Tamar and Barwe narrowly escaped with their lives when those places were sacked and destroyed. The Kols from Singbhum came to the aid of the insurgents. The Mundas were most numerous in the Doisa and Korambe parganas. After long delay troops to put down the insurrection were collected. Captain Wilkinson reached Pithauria in January, when the work of the insurrection was in its full blaze. He was without sufficient force to penetrate far into the disturbed districts but he compelled the villagers near Pithauria to submit. This was not done without fighting; and indeed the insurgents on more than one occasion threatened his position, advancing against it with a force estimated at about 3,000 fighting men, but they were repulsed. An expedition was sent against Nagri insurgents with the order to attack, slay and destroy, and to such orders energetically carried out, the insurgents succumbed. Still songs are sung that remind the young how their fathers went out in 1832. But the Oraons of the west and the Mundas of the centre and south showed no inclination to lay down arms. The insurrection now spread into Palamau. It grew serious. A squadron of cavalry while making its way to Palamau found its way so hotly opposed in one of the hill passes, that the officer in command deemed it necessary to make a retrograde movement and await re-inforcements. Not till the middle of February were the troops in a position to operate. Of three columns that were formed, all but one was successful. The right and centre columns met with little opposition, but the left column, when they reached Sonpur, found that the Kols had abandoned their villages, and with their flocks and herds and families had taken refuge in the hills. In attempting to dislodge them, the troops, specially a detachment

of the third light cavalry, suffered some loss. On the 19th March 1832 the leaders surrendered to the Commissioner. Great changes in the administration followed. The zemindari police was restored to the hereditary chiefs; the border Mankis, whose dispossession from their tenures was the main cause of their insurrection, were reinstated. The Mankis obtained title-deeds. The head-quarters of the Agency were established at Kishanpur or Ranchi.

APPENDIX.

I prevailed upon certain friendly Mundas, as soon as they were convinced of the sincerity of my purpose, to disclose to me some of their martial songs which their forefathers sang, at the time of the invasion of their country by European troops or the former's victory on the top of the Kuchang hillock. The songs were sung as the Mundas dandled a war-dance.

GENA.

1. He dolang mare dolang gating
2. Mudung alang Jore bandoki
3. He dolang mare dolang gating
4. Bahir alang jori pailta
5. Telenga ku rakablana gating
6. Mudung alang jori bandoki
7. Firangi ku tindumlana singing
8. Bahir alang jora pailta.

TRANSLATION.

1. Let us go, let us go, my friend
2. Let us take with us the double-barrelled gun
3. Let us go, let us go, my friend,
4. Let us go out with double wick
5. The troops have invaded, O friend
6. Let us take with us the double-barrelled gun
7. The Europeans have followed, O friend,
8. Let us go out with double wick.

The following song, called *Racha*, was sung by the Munda warriors on the Kuchang hillock without musical instruments, while playing a war-dance.

1. Sukan buru re gating, chikanko jolop jolop
2. Sering jolare sanging, chikanko jilipa jalang
3. Telenga ko gating jolop jolop
4. Ferangi ko sanging jilipa jalang.

TRANSLATION.

1. In the Sukanburu (hillock), O friend what's there that is glittering
2. In the precipice, O friend, what thing is riding up in rows
3. The troops' armour, O friend, is glittering
4. The Ferangis (Europeans), O friend, are riding up in rows.

MAULAVI ABDUL WALI, M.R.A.S.

Art. IV.—LITERARY SOCIETIES IN INDIA :

THEIR OBJECTS AND METHODS OF WORK:

LITERATURE serves to record in a durable way the history of nations, their manners, customs, religions, the productions of art, science and philosophy and their thoughts and sentiments expressed either in prose or poetry. The civilisation of a nation depends upon the excellence of its literature and no nation can hold its own in the scale of civilised nations without literary distinction. India is a rich store house for antiquarian researches. Sanskrit literature contains vast treasures of thought on a variety of subjects affecting the best interests of mankind. Sanskrit is one of the classical languages. Sir William Jones, who announced that Sanskrit, Greek and Latin had all sprung from one common source, characterised it to be of a wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin and more exquisitely refined than either. The oldest Sanskrit literature is the Vedas. The Rig Veda is a collection of hymns and poems of various dates, some of which go back to the earliest days of Aryan invasion of North-Western India ; the whole collection, however, may be roughly ascribed to the 14th or 15th century B.C.

In course of time it came to assume a sacred character and the theory of inspiration in support of this shows at least the high veneration in which it is held. The Rig Veda was divided into ten mandals or books, each mandal being assigned to some old family and out of these were formed three new Vedas, the Yajur, the Sama and the Atharva. The Yajur and the Sama may be described as prayer books compiled from the

Rig for the use of the choristers and the ministers of the priests. The Atharva Veda is described as a collection of poems mixed with popular sayings, medical advice, magical formulæ and the like. A high order of civilisation prevailed in the Vedic age. The history of Aryan Hindu civilisation undoubtedly forms a unique chapter in the history of human culture and progress extending over a period of thirty centuries. Besides its great antiquity and sublime poetry the Rig Veda has been correctly interpreted as showing at a glance how the human mind had travelled from the simplicity of nature worship to grasp the most intricate and complicated problem of metaphysics—the idea of the Creator from His works of creation. It presents also a faithful record of the first phase of Hindu civilisation in Aryavarta when the Aryan patriarch hewed down with his own hands hills and constructed villages and towns, bridges and high roads; when every able-bodied Hindu unlike the modern times took the sword and the spear to defend his country, when women composed hymns for the Rig Veda, watched the motions of the stars, wove the web of metaphysical enquiry; when caste did not separate the people into so many fragmentary sections, each moving in its narrow groove, but when the Hindu community was conglomerated into one united whole able and willing to act in combination and concert in their country's cause; when religious worship was not a solemn farce of priests and temples, but when every father of a family lighted the sacrificial fire in his own hearth and made to it the simple offerings of rice and milk, the sacrificial animal or the libation of Soma-beer and the mother of the family acted as her husband's assistant; when widows were brought to the altar of a second marriage and when the hymeneal

knot was not tied round the neck of an infant daughter. This revered volume contains not only the nucleus of Hindu religion, mythology and philosophy, but it contains also the seeds of those grand and sublime truths of religion which have so vastly and variously influenced the world at large. And do they not shed a flood of light on the early phases of Hindu civilisation and culture of bygone days? The primary doctrine of the Vedas is the Unity of God. The three principal manifestations of the Divinity (Brahma, Vishnu and Siva) with other personified attributes and energies are indeed mentioned, but the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system. Then we have the Upanishads or philosophical commentaries on the Vedas and the six *Darshans* or schools of philosophy, viz., the prior Mimansa founded by Jaimini, the latter Mimansa or Vedanta attributed to Vyasa, the Nya or the logical school of Gautama, the Atomic School of Konada, the Atheistical School of Kapila and the Theistic School of Patanjali. These two last schools agree in many points and are included in the common name of Sankhya. The two principal schools are the Sankhya and the Vedanta. The first maintains the eternity of matter and its principal branch denies the existence of God. The other school derives all things from God and one sect denies the reality of matter. All the Indian systems, atheistic as well as theistic, agree in their object which is to teach the means of obtaining beatitude, or in other words, Metempsychosis or deliverance from all corporeal encumbrances. Next we have the Manu Sanhita or the Institutes of Manu. Manu's Code, according to Mr. Elphinstone, seems rather to be the work of a learned Brahman designed to set forth his idea of a perfect commonwealth under Hindu

institution. On this supposition it would show the state of society as correctly as a legal code since it is evident that it incorporates existing laws and any alterations it may have introduced with a view to bring them up to its preconceived standard must still have been drawn from the opinions which prevailed when it was written. Again we have the two celebrated epic poems, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, the one celebrates the Lunar Race of Delhi, the other forms the epic history of the Solar Race of Ajodha, the ancient capital of Oudh. The two poems preserve the legends of the two most famous ancient Hindu dynasties. The compiler of the Mahabharata was Vyasa and that of the Ramayana Valmiki. Both of them are held in universal esteem and admiration for their magnificence of imagery and elegance of description. They embrace history, geography, genealogy, theology and the nucleus of many a popular myth. Both the works are more voluminous than either Homer's Iliad or Virgil's Æneid. The Mahabharata contains 22,000 and the Ramayana 48,000 lines, while the Iliad contains only 16,000 and the Æneid less than 10,000 lines.

The above enumeration and description of a vast body of Sanskrit literature, suggests the necessity of forming literary societies in India for the purpose of exploring the treasures of valuable thought embodied therein. That is to say, with the object of (1) adopting a systematic method of studying and making researches in the literature; (2) polishing and improving the languages and dialects of India most of which are descended from Sanskrit, *viz.*, Prakrita, Pali, Singalese, Hindustani or Urdu, Bengali, Maharatti, Assamese, Sindhi, Gujrati, Nepali, Kashmiri, etc. Of these Bengali and Urdu deserve conspicuous mention. Bengali has received a

wonderful growth and development on account of the manifold literature in poetry and prose, in works of histories, epics, novels, dramas, theology, science and philosophy. Hindustani or Urdu, the language of the camp, is Hindi mixed with Arabic and Persian. It is, in fact, a *lingua franca* which grew up at the time of the Mahomedan invasion in the 11th century. As the science of language teaches us that with the growth of material prosperity and civilisation of a country, language tends from multiplicity to unity, it will be one of the principal objects of the Indian literary societies to reduce the manifold languages and dialects of India to two or three central ones, *viz.*, Bengali, Urdu, and if need be, Maharatti. A nation cannot be too proud of its national literature. It is the principal distinction of the nationality of a people. We may learn English because it is the language of our rulers, because it unfolds to us ideas and thoughts of Western civilisation and because so long as the unification of Indian dialects is not brought about, it will best serve as a common medium of communication with the several Indian people. But if we rely exclusively on it, forgetting our mother tongue, we will lose our individuality as a nation, our ideas and conceptions will be anglicised or westernised and so we will lose our real independence in the best acceptance of the term.

In order to preserve the native vigour, purity and idiom of the Indian National language, it must not be adulterated with foreign mixtures so as to turn it into a sort of *lingua franca*. What would have been the fate of the melodious and forcible, simple and clear English language, if the Norman conquest had obliterated the Anglo-Saxon language and transformed it into Norman French? Every language has its idioms or peculiar modes of expression which cannot be accurately

translated into a foreign language. As language is the reflex of the mind, the various thoughts and ideas embodied in our idiomatic vernaculars would be forgotten or lost sight of if they were displaced by a foreign tongue. But while encouraging the study of Oriental literature English should not be disregarded, for it embodies a material civilisation which ought to supplement, or be superadded to, the purely spiritual character of the remnants of the ancient Indo-Aryan civilisation which remain to the present generation of Hindus. Now as to the methods of literary societies for accomplishing their objects. The first and most important object will be to try to improve and extend the scope of the existing methods already in operation. The late Babu Srigopal Basu Mullick created a Sanskrit Professorship on the lines of the Tagore Law Professorship delivering a certain course of lectures every year on Sanskrit literature and publishing them for distribution or sale. The institution has been recognised by the Calcutta University. By appealing to the generous instincts of patrons of learning the number of such institutions may be increased and established in different parts of India. These institutions should be affiliated to the several Universities so as to secure for the passed students attached to them some distinction like that of the University M.A. in Sanskrit. The number of *tois* or schools for Sanskrit Titles Examination should also be increased. In fact before the recognition and support by Government of such schools they were already of indigenous growth. The pundits actuated by a laudable desire to spread the knowledge of Sanskrit literature maintained *tois* at their own expense. It is gratifying to notice that their disinterested and self-sacrificing exertions have met with marks of approbation

by our generous and enlightened Government holding out reward for successful study. These *tois* should correspond and act in concert with the institutions for Sanskrit Professorship and the task of both should be so divided and arranged as to finish in due time by their united efforts a complete course of lectures on Vedic and post-Vedic or classical Sanskrit literature. One characteristic of such literature is that all sorts of knowledge, theological, literary, philosophical, medical, etc., are jumbled up together in one volume. The information on anyone of these subjects is so vast and comprehensive as to form the subject-matter of one complete work. But it is scattered here and there throughout the volume and not systematically arranged in one place. The translators have followed the original plan and method of treatment and so have not helped much in the way of digesting and grasping the manifold ideas and thoughts interspersed in it. The best plan would be to collect the scattered thoughts on each subject arranging and putting them together in a methodical order and noting points of difference if any, from modern philosophy or science. Our vernacular literature, especially the Bengali, has received a wonderful growth and development. The blank verse of Michael Modhu Sudon Datta, the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the dramas of Deno Bandhu Mittra, the theological and moral essays of Akshaya Kumar Dutt, the general literary productions of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidya-sagar, the poems of Hem Chandra Banerji and Nobin Chandra Sen, the chaste and pure diction of Robindra Nath Tagore, and last, though not least, the dictionary of Jogendra Nath Bose as voluminous as that of Webster, have considerably enriched the Bengali literature and chalked out different paths of literary pursuits.

There have been a host of imitators of these eminent authors but none of them has excelled or even equalled them either in artistic excellence of style or originality of views. In some quarters the literary taste has shown a tendency to corruption. Nothing but sound criticism and the dissemination of enlightened views consequent upon the general spread of liberal education can correct such vitiated tastes and impart a healthy moral tone to our literature. It should be one of the principal objects of literary societies to expose and prevent the publication of obscene, scurrilous and seditious literature. Freedom of thought and speech should not be mistaken for unbridled license. While guarding and protecting the privilege of the former, the abuse and daring malignity of the other should not be allowed to go unchecked. A desire of catering for the humourous portion of humanity by exhibiting the ridiculous and the grotesque is no just excuse for exceeding the due bounds of decency and decorum. The subject may be concluded by summarising the practical methods which literary societies in India may adopt for accomplishing their objects.

1. To collect manuscripts, both Vernacular and Sanskrit, and publish them after careful examination and correction so that these obscure and unnoticed sources of knowledge may not be lost to the nation.

2. To publish biographies of eminent ancient literary authors fixing their chronology and describing their surroundings and environments including the influence on the race and the individual and the literary epochs in which they flourished. The style and substance of a writer are greatly influenced by the period to which he belongs, *i.e.*, the stage of literary and social development in which he is born, because the writer of

one age inherits the accumulated experience and wisdom of previous ages and uses the productions of such age as models.

3. To encourage literary effort by offering rewards for the production of original and really meritorious works and pecuniary aid for making literary researches.

4. To spread the knowledge of sound literature by establishing circulating libraries in different parts of the country and organising popular lectures on literary subjects by securing the services, which will, in most cases, be gratuitously offered, of Professors of literature of Colleges and other distinguished speakers.

5. To improve the standard of taste of the current literature of the day including journalistic literature by means of sound criticism through the medium of independent and impartial journals and periodicals started by literary societies. It is desirable that every literary society or an association of such societies should have well conducted organs of their own to set forth their objects, to popularise the subjects of their enquiry and generally to improve the cause of literature.

6. To establish correspondence with the existing reported literary societies in the civilised parts of the world inviting opinions on the efficacy of the existing methods and adopting suggestions for improvement.

7. Above all, to enlist the sympathy of the aristocracy of the country and our generous and enlightened Government in order to provide funds for carrying out the multifarious objects of literary societies. Some of the literary societies in Calcutta are already working on the lines suggested but their number should be increased so that effective service may be rendered to the cause of literature by their combined action.

K. C. KANJILAL, B.L.

Art. V.—GLIMPSES OF A WILD LIFE—KAKARS.

“Sweet ignorance is bliss.”

THE Kakar is not an unknown personality in Baluchistan. He could be seen every year in the streets of Quetta when the grand jirga, the local judicial tribunal of the leading chiefs of Baluchistan, meets to expound the *kawaj* (customary law) of the country. He is a rough sort of person wearing long hair, a savage expression and baggy trousers of enormous circumference. The chief requires a complete piece to make his own. It is a sign of greatness amongst them and is persistently observed to the advancement of the Manchester weavers.

The Kakar's past history has not been exactly ascertained. It was not till Sir Robert Sandeman threw their country open to the world that the people had had anything to do with the modern civilisation. We would, as a matter of fact, have known nothing about his past had it not been that such people always keep up a body of folklore which genuinely and faithfully records the history of their past and which is handed down quite untampered because they are not capable of realising its importance and its sacredness is prohibitive of intervention. It is to his folklore therefore that the compilers of the Kakar's history turn for a clue to what they want.

It is popularly believed by the Kakars that they have descended from a priest going by the name of Kakar whom chance directed to their present abode. But it yet remains to be determined as to when this historically important immigration took place. The Gazetteer is, as expected, silent on the point. All it tells us is that Kakars are Afghans and that the

Takht-i-Suleiman range which forms the Eastern boundary of their country is the cradle of the Afghan race. In fact it mainly depends on the random research of the already overworked Patwari or mohurrir who only puffs up imperfectly remembered stories to cover a convenient number of pages and doesn't believe in wasting time and energy on the collection of what is to him a mass of rubbish which the wild people so often sing to the disturbance of his sleep.

There is a legend current amongst the people which provides the solution of the problem. It is believed that this person of ethnological sanctity came to the country in the time of Ongashee, one-eyed and one-legged kings of the Mongols gifted with tremendous powers of jumping. To find out these skipping royalties of the Mongolian era we must go to the root of the word Ongashee. Ongashee is derived from Ongashedal, which means limping, and the Mongols had a limping king in Tamerlane only, the famous horseman and warrior. The idea of lameness has been extended to the loss of an optic to complete the symmetry and his excellent horsemanship seems to have suggested the absurd jumps to free the hero from the human need of a horse. The multiplicity of number does not require much of an explanation for it is the chief characteristic of mouth-to-mouth stories.

So it was in Tamerlane's time that the founder of this race first came into Zhob, a funnel-like valley extending from very near Quetta to the Gomal and well known for its bad water and wild scenes. He himself was not a military person nor was there anything militant about his band. In fact it was not till Sanzar sprang up in his line that the policy of that priestly nucleus of the present Kakar race took a turn. Sanzar was one of those restless beings who could never be curbed down.

He inherited a spiritual fame from his ancestors and his own physical powers added to it helped him to rise to the call of his ambitious nature and he soon brought the weak Mongols to their knees by a guerilla method of attack. Nearly the whole of the Kakar folklore which, it is curious to note, is mainly the composition of the females, celebrates the exploits of this famous warrior and priest. For instance, one of the legends says that Sanzar once rode into the Mongol Governor's fort. His dog and slave were with him. He had instructed his slave to tighten up the girths, if required to loosen them and *vice versa*. On entering the fort he ordered the girths to be loosened and the slave did otherwise. Here the legend takes a turn and represents him sleeping under the wall of the Governor's house. His capture had been ordered and he would have been taken but for the daughter of the Governor who was sitting at the window. She had fallen in love with him and realising his danger she cut her finger with a knife letting the blood trickle on his face. The dog barked at the blood and the bark awoke him. He looked up and was captivated by the beauty of the girl. She explained the situation to him and said she was ready to go with him. She got down by a rope ladder and both of them mounted the horse, the slave and the dog hanging to its tail. Then Sanzar said "Go my horse with the permission of Allah" and up went the horse clearing first the inner and then the outer wall of the fort. But as it was landing after the second jump it burst in twain and Sanzar, who was touched by the sight for he loved the horse, said "Oh God! burn all the Mongola" and all the Mongolian dwellings were burnt to ashes.

No authentic information as to the details of the great struggle between Sanzar and the Mongols, could

be elicited from such a vague and exaggerated description. But, roughly speaking, it clearly indicates that spiritual fame and valour being on Sanzar's side, the *esprit de corps* of his little band coupled with his guerilla *modus operandi* was quite enough to drive the weak Mongols out of Zhob.

The later legendary history of the people is more or less a record of continuous strife between the offshoots of the race for supremacy kept on down to the occupation of the country by our Government. It is said by the people that a tribe going by the name of "Rohilla" once entered Eastern Zhob only to be driven out soon afterwards. It is very curious to note that the direct descendants of Sanzar have not lost in the strife the spiritual respect which that illustrious personage bequeathed to them. They are still believed to be proof to lead and steel, and the poor amongst them do not hesitate in going on Baspan which means going about with an appeal to the purse of the community on behalf of their empty coffers. It is more as a matter of right than of request that the Sanzar Khel Sirdar thus asks for money.

The male Kakar is out and out a drone. The deficiency is made up by the woman who is the most industrious and hard-worked human being and by the way the sole poet of the country. We rarely come across verses made by men in that country. She is beautiful—the Kakar woman—but extremely dirty. Her fair complexion, soft Aryan cut proportionate features and long tresses of wavy black hair present a shocking contrast to her dirty red shift and wrapper—smelly and greasy and to the geological crusts on her hands and feet which lay claim to an immemorial antiquity.

This dirty beautiful being enjoys a very low status in the Kakar society. She is looked upon as property

and is inherited. The sisters are inherited by the brothers from the father and their bride money which is called walwar is divided amongst them in the same proportion as other chattels. She does not wear trousers—the Kakar woman—but only a long red shift which reaches just above her ankles. Round her ankles she sews small pieces of cloth, the colour of which is meant to indicate whether she is a virgin or a married woman. Red is the sign of virginity and green of marriage.

. The Kakar boy does not, as a rule, wear trousers before he is twelve, and the year of sheltering his naked limbs is deemed a landmark for reckoning a Kakar' sage. The boys and girls usually mix together up till they are well grown up and therefore they have a fair opportunity of choosing mates for each other. The boys are allowed to visit their *fiancées* long before (*nikah*) the proper marriage ceremony is performed—a custom which establishes the Israelite extraction of the Afghans.

Every Kakar carries his own blood price called nek, probably from the Persian word neki which means a good turn because it patches up the quarrel. Tooth for tooth is not their principle, and it would have caused a continual bloodshed had it not been that the ancient Kakars have introduced a very wholesome custom. It has saved them from the feuds which are working havoc amongst their cousins of the other frontier—I mean Afridis, Mohmands, etc. The *rawaj* (customary law) of the race obliges the murderer to give a Bazoo (hand) which means a girl, or two, according to the circumstances of the murder, in marriage to the next in kin of the murdered. Of course the girls are given in addition to the blood money and the wound which can in no other way be cured is healed up in a very short time.

He leaves his smelly half underground caverns in the summer and sets out on a nomad-like itineracy. His movements are usually regulated by the requirements of his flock. The pasture grounds are defined and nobody can transgress his tribal limits. A black tent (called kizdee) generally 4 feet high and of various dimensions, some being as much as 50 feet long usually shelters his family, flock, and himself. He has a great liking for these wanderings and even the Chiefs would not forego it for all the comfort of a settled life.

He is a very quiet man—the Kakar. It is only on Id day or on the occasion of a marriage that a stir could be perceived in his otherwise peaceful village. On such occasions they usually run races, have tent-pegging and rough-riding competitions, and those who have no horses amuse themselves with a wild dance called "Hammi." Ten to twenty persons—often men and women together—spin round in a ring giving out a hollow sound closely resembling a roar and shaking their heads so that the hair which is usually worn long and cut round the shoulders, plays wildly on their faces giving them a savage expression. After two or three rounds they bend down to clap their hands together.

He doesn't know anything of the modern world except what thrusts itself on him through the local officials. Nor does he care to know. He is happy and contented, though it is a treat for him to gapingly listen to the mixed stories of the adventurous wiseacres who have seen the Kaffir's horse which ambles at a terrific speed and his cities out of which hundreds of his villages could be carved out.

KAZI MIR AHMAD.

, Art. VI.—THE CHARMS OF POETRY.

POETRY is the child of enthusiasm. There is a power in the harmonious association of sounds, capable of making the most pathetic appeals to the fancy, and of soothing the passions of the most barbarous savages. From the observations that modern writers have made in respect to the manners and customs of America, we are inclined to pronounce that man is born a poet. All the rites and ceremonies of religion have, from the earliest ages, been highly indebted to this art and the cultivation of poetical talent has been always considered of the highest importance.

It is not to nature alone that we are indebted for this attainment ; she has indeed conferred on some, a favourable distinction and greater endowments in this respect, but much has been left to the industry of man. There are certain rules and instructions to be observed which may inspire and promote true genius, correct that redundancy which is so often prevalent in the works of natural but uncultivated minds, and bring more forcibly to their notice, those beauties which are peculiarly worthy of observation, by strongly contrasting them with the principal faults that are sedulously to be avoided.

Everything that regards the study of poetical composition merits the greatest attention, not only because it is of the highest importance to the improvement of our intellectual powers, but that it materially assists us in arranging and expressing our thoughts with accuracy and enables us to clothe our indistinct conceptions in purer language and more elegant construction.

There are few subjects on which there exists a wider difference of opinion than on the nature of poetical talent ; few which present a more difficult task to the critic to explain with precision.

It is a clear perception of whatever constitutes the beautiful and sublime in nature ; a lively sensation and keen relish of the external ornaments of natural objects presented to the vision, united with a distinct conception of their individual and abstract parts ; which teaches us to express the pleasurable excitements we enjoy with enthusiasm tempered by reason—for simplicity constitutes the greatest charm of poetry. It is this principally which has rendered the reputation of the poets of antiquity so lasting, so universal among all nations capable of appreciating their merits.

The most striking difference between the writers of Greece and Rome, and those of England, modern Italy, France and Germany is this :—the former having a new field, an untrodden soil to cultivate, abound in original fancy, unrivalled simplicity and more lofty conceptions ; but among the latter, although the exertions of genius are more feeble, a greater correctness of style, and a more studied and artful arrangement, in point of regularity and accuracy, are conspicuous.

It appears, therefore, to be essential to man to enjoy this power of discernment. Although in some the glimmerings of poetical talent may be so feeble as to prohibit the lively enjoyment of the refinement of beauty, yet some weak and confused impression of a pleasurable nature will strike the dullest of mankind, when the beauties and sublimities of nature are in a manner presented to their view by lively and enthusiastic description ; and this can only be produced by poetical talent. These various causes tend to induce a belief

that the sympathy which is awakened in our bosoms by the perusal of the best poetical writers may be in a great measure attributed to some hidden vein of poesy which is innate in man, and which vibrates responsively to the harmony of composition ; the seeds of refinement, indeed, are more deeply implanted in some breasts, and require greater care and higher cultivation to bring them to maturity, and hence arises that great inequality of genius among men. There are some writers who have endeavoured to attribute this inequality to external circumstances, and have affirmed that however bountiful Nature may have been in bestowing her gifts, unless refined society and knowledge of mankind be added, nothing truly grand, sublime, or heroic, can result. It is impossible, therefore, to devote too much attention to the acquirement of a thorough knowledge of the ancient poets ; their sole aim was the instruction of their fellow-men ; and it is needless to assert how much they contributed, in the early ages of the world, towards polishing mankind, constituting them into states and societies, and uniting them in one common interest.

The nature and design of poetry is to render us wiser and happier and not, as some say, to please the imagination and corrupt the heart. Since the beauty of language and harmony of numbers are admittedly more likely to arrest the attention and captivate the soul, they are used merely as canals to convey moral and religious truths to the mind and heart.

It is by no means our intention here to enter into a detailed account of the various styles and orders of poetry, but merely to analyse the general principles, so far as they are directly connected with the subject. It is an established fact that animated descriptions and

poetical compositions have frequently been capable of drawing the attention of mankind when cool reasoning and plain discourse have utterly failed of their object.

Poetical talent is perhaps no less admirable in pointing out the excellence of writers, the strength and boldness of their metaphors, the loftiness and majesty of their ideas and images, the harmony and magnificence of their expressions, and in making a just distinction between the natural, the graceful and the sublime than in the original display of these several essentials. No one, it has been observed, can judge of the concealed niceties and secret delicacies which constitute the greatest excellences of poetry except a poet. Persons who but imperfectly understand these rules of criticism, and who do not possess a true taste for purity of diction and harmony of numbers, are prone to mistake the extravagances of an irregular and wild fancy, the undigested crudities of a Shelley, or the eccentric fancies of a Wordsworth or a Coleridge, or beauties and ornaments, not remembering that if an author is incapable of maintaining, he does not deserve the name of a poet.

Great care, therefore, ought to be taken to acquire a true judgment of the beauties of poetry, which by its allurements and charms, sights insensibly into the very soul; and when once it has obtained possession of the fancy it quickly persuades the heart.

This means an eminent display of poetical talent; and for this purpose an ordinary and familiar style is too low and mean; the mind is elevated by the grandeur and beauty of the object which charms it; and the most noble thoughts and expressions are explored, the boldest figures collected, and the most lively images and comparisons multiplied, which may add dignity to the

subject we wish to eulogize. From these sentiments arise the enthusiasm of poets, the fruitfulness of invention, the nobleness of sentiments and ideas, sallies of imagination, the magnificence and boldness of terms and the love of what is grand, sublime, and beautiful.

We must by no means suppose that, by being freed from the strict formality of prose treatises, we may revel in all the luxuries of poetical talent. We must remember that method and order are essentially requisite ; and that although ease and gracefulness may constitute the principal charms of poetry, a too loose and rambling style is highly objectionable.

T. M. SATCHIT.

Art. VII.—THE FOLKLORE OF JAPAN .

1. *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan.* By R. G. Smith. London : A. and C. Black. 1908.
2. *The Mikado's Empire.* By W. E. Griffis. New York and London : Harper and Brothers. 1899.
3. *Things Japanese.* By B. H. Chamberlain. London : J. Murray. 1898.
4. *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan.* By Lafcadio Hearn. Two Volumes. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1901.
5. "*Out of the East*" : *Reveries and Studies in New Japan.* By Lafcadio Hearn. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1900.
6. *The Japs at Home.* By Douglas Sladen. Fifth Edition. London : Ward, Lock and Company, Limited.
7. *Queer Things about Japan.* By Douglas Sladen. Third Edition. London : Anthony Treherne and Company, Limited. 1904.
8. *Japan (The Story of the Nations Series).* By David Murray. Third Edition. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1896.

IN former times, the Japanese were looked upon as children and Japan as a kind of doll's house where they had wooden images dressed in the gorgeous Oriental costumes of mediæval times and curious sets of furniture and utensils in miniature. But times are now changed ; and the Spirit of God has now moved upon the face of the waters. That little Asiatic nation, which inhabits the Land of the Chrysanthemum and the Rising Sun, has achieved the undying glory of having fought the greatest fight of modern times in the finest possible way and have thereby become a factor in the world's politics. But another kind of interest centres round Japan ; and that is based upon her victories of

peace. Her quaint manners, her curious customs, her showy fairs and pretty flower-festivals, and, above all, her exquisite arts have elicited the admiration of the whole world. But no less interesting are the folk-beliefs and the weird superstitions of the Japanese, their fantastic legends and fascinating folktales. Quite a literature has been written on these last-mentioned subjects, in other words, what may be broadly termed their folklore; and it is my intention in these pages to make a rapid survey of whatever has been written thereupon.

Broadly speaking, the folk-beliefs of the Japanese may be classified under seven heads: namely, (1) Ghostlore and Spiritlore; (2) Animallore and Tree-cult; (3) Nature-myths and Dreamlore; (4) Household Customs and Superstitions; (5) Domestic Manners and Customs; (6) Divination and Charms; and (7) Folktales and Legends. I shall deal with each of the aforesaid classes under a separate section *seriatim*.

SECTION I.—GHOST-LORE AND SPIRIT-LORE.

Ghosts and Spooks among the Japanese.—The Japs are essentially a superstitious people and firm believers in the existence of ghosts and spooks. They believe that ghosts can assume astral forms which they call *shito dama*. These astral spirits are of two shapes, one being in the form of a roundish oblong tadpole, the other being eyed and more square-fronted. Mr. R. G. Smith, who sojourned for nine years in Japan and, in the course of his stay there, came in contact with all sorts and conditions of men, namely, the fisher, the farmer, the priest, the doctor, the children and a host of others, has collected from them a number of stories about mountains, trees, flowers and places in history and some legends. These he has recently published under

the title of "*Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan*." About the *shito dama*, he says:—"In many stories in MS. volumes I have told of *shito dama* or astral spirits. So much evidence have I got from personal acquaintances as to their existence, and even frequent occurrence, that I almost believe in them myself. Some say that there are two shapes—the roundish oblong tadpole shape, and the more square-fronted eyed shape. Priests declare the shapes and sexes to be all alike, indistinguishable from each other and square-fronted, as in No. 2. My hunter, Oto of Itami, who, with his son, saw the old barber's wife's *shito dama* after she had died, declared that the shape was like an egg with a tail. At Tsouboune, near Naba, two or three dozen people, who had seen the *shito dama* of a deaf man and that of a fisher-girl there, declared both to be square fronted. Again at Toshi Shima the old men declare that there was a carpenter whose *shito dama* appeared five or six times some 15 years ago, and that it was red, instead of having the ordinary phosphorescent smoky-white appearance. *Shito dama*, I take it, is the astral form that a spirit can assume if it wishes to wander the earth after death."* In the story of "*A Haunted Temple in Inaba Province*,"† mention is made of the ghost and *shito dama* of a priest who had met with a violent death and could not rest. The astral spirit moved first one way and then another in a hovering and jerky manner, and from it a voice as of distant buzzing proceeded. As the *shito dama* rose higher and higher, the ghost of the priest moved after it and ultimately became merged therein. In another legend,‡ it is stated that the

* *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan*. By R. G. Smith, F.R.G.S. London : A. and C. Black. 1908. p. 36 (footnote.)

† *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

‡ *Op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

castle of a Daimio named Akechi Mitsuhide was closely invested by his enemy Toyotomi. At last the supply of water having been cut off, the garrison had to capitulate, but not before Akechi and most of his men had committed suicide. From that time forth, in rain or in rough weather, there came from the castle a fireball, six inches in diameter or more. It used to come to wreak vengeance on fishermen (because a bad fisherman had betrayed to Toyotomi the source of water which had supplied Akechi's castle) by leading boats out of their course and thereby causing many wrecks. Once upon a time, a fisherman struck it with a bamboo pole, breaking it up into many fiery bits ; and on that occasion many boats were lost. In full this *shito dama* is called "The Spider Fire of the Spirit of the Dead Akechi."

Transformation of Foxes and Badgers into Women.— Closely allied to the belief in spirits and ghosts is the superstition widely prevalent among the Japanese that foxes and badgers can transform themselves into women. In Japanese legends, the Raccoon-faced Dog (Tanuki) and the badger are credited with the possession of as much powers of transformation and mischief as the fox. In these tales, the fox, disguised as a woman, gets married to some loving Japanese youth and has a family by him, and, subsequently on account of a little domestic brawl, throws off the guise of womanhood and, reassuming her vulpine form, runs away followed by her litter of cubs leaving the disconsolate husband alone.

In Mr. Smith's collection, there is a story entitled : "The Snow Tomb" * wherein the hero Rokugo meets a woman who came up to him, with a horrible face and clenched teeth, as if in agony. He thought that she must be a fox who had assumed the form of a woman,

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 317-8.

recollecting, at the same time, a fact he had heard about fox-women. It was that fire, coming from the bodies of foxes and badgers, is always so bright that, even on the darkest night, you can tell the colour of their hair, or even the figures woven in the stuffs they wear, when assuming the forms of men or women, and that it is clearly visible at one ken (six feet). Remembering this, Rokugo approached a little closer to the woman; and, sure enough, he could see the pattern of her dress shown up as if fire were underneath. The hair, too, seemed to have fire under it. Knowing now that it was a fox he had to do with, Rokugo drew his best sword and struck the fox with it, killing the fox and consequently the apparition. It is said that, whenever a fox or a badger transforms itself into human shape, the real presence stands beside the apparition. If the apparition appears on the left side, the presence of the animal himself is on the right. The body was found, not that of a fox or a badger, but of an otter.

Similarly, in the story of "The Dragon-shaped Plum Tree,"* the beautiful girl, the Spirit of the Plum tree is at first mistaken for the spirit of an old fox. In the story of "The Golden Hairpin,"† the knocking at the door of the hero Konojo's house is supposed to be done by a fox or a badger.

Demoniacal Possession by Foxes and Dogs.—Foxes and badgers also sometimes assume the shapes of men. Demon foxes are also credited with the power of taking up their abode in human beings, just as evil spirits, so often mentioned in the New Testament, are supposed to possess men and women. The Japs also believe that some persons possess foxes (*kitsunetsuki*),

* *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

in other words, they are wizards or witches commanding invisible powers of evil which they can turn loose at will upon their enemies.

In the Oki Islands, off the coast of Izumo, dogs are believed to possess demoniacal powers; and the human beings, who are in league with them, are called *inu-gami-mochi*, that is to say, "dog-god-owners." When the spirit of the demon dog goes forth on an errand of mischief, its body remains behind, gradually becomes weaker and ultimately dies and falls to decay. If this should happen, the spirit, after its return, takes up its residence in the body of the "dog-god-owner," who thereupon becomes more potent than before.

Badgers as Players of Practical Jokes.—Badgers are believed to play practical jokes upon the people. One of their favourite pranks is to assume the figure of the moon; but this they can do only when the actual luminary is in the sky. Beating the tattoo on their stomach is also one of their familiar tricks. In Japanese art, badgers are generally depicted as diverting themselves in this way with an enormously protuberant abdomen for all the world like a drum. *

Snow-ghosts.—Another class of spooks, in the existence whereof the Japanese believe, is the "*Yuki Onna*" or the Snow-ghost. This belief largely prevails among the inhabitants of the higher mountains in the north of Japan, which are continually snowclad. All those persons, who die by exposure to the snow and cold, become snow-ghosts which put in their appearance whenever snow falls; just in the same way as those who meet with a watery grave in the sea appear in the sea only during tempestuous weather. Snow

* *Things Japanese.* By B. H. Chamberlain. Third Edition. London J. Murray. 1898. pp. 105-111

falls heavily in the northern provinces of Japan, where many people have lost their lives by getting buried in the deep snows; and their bodies are not found until the covering snows thaw in the ensuing spring. The spirits of these persons are believed to have become snow-ghosts; and, even at the present day, the priests in the north chant prayers in order to appease them and to prevent them from haunting their living kinsmen.

In the story entitled: "The Snow-Ghost," it is narrated that, in the afternoon of the 19th January 1833, the spook of a farmer's daughter named Oyasu, who had perished in the preceding year's great snowstorm, was seen by a farmer named Kyuzaemon residing in the village of Hoi. She was seen clad in white, with her hair streaming down her back and having no clogs on her feet. She is said to have whirled along over the snow and, sometimes, to have flown through the air.*

Japanese Beliefs about Trees and Flowers having Spirits.—The Animism of the Japanese finds a charming expression in the shape of their belief about Trees and Flowers having their indwelling spirits. This form of animistic belief prevailed among the ancients and also among a great many races of people all over the world. The ancient Greeks believed in the existence of Dryads or nymphs who dwelt in trees. The ancient Hindus also were actuated by a belief similar to that for there are, in the Vedas themselves, a number of passages wherein trees are invoked as deities.† It was not the trees as such, but the souls or spirits supposed to dwell in them, to haunt them, that were looked upon as gods. If the soul leaves the tree, the tree withers; but the soul does not die. This belief still survives, at the

* Smith's *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan*, pp. 307-11.

† Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 154.

present day, in the tree-worship, or dryad-worship, of the modern Hindus.

Among the Japs, the willow, the plum, the cherry tree, the chrysanthemum, the lotus and the peony flower are supposed to have spirits which dwell in them and which, sometimes, assume the shapes of lovely maidens or youths who make love to and marry persons of the opposite sex and have often children by them. Mr. R. G. Smith has collected a number of fascinating fairy tales wherein these tree and flower-spirits play a prominent rôle. Among these are included the story entitled: "The Spirit of the Willow Tree," wherein it is stated that a large willow tree stood before the Temple of Kwannon, the Goddess of Mercy, in a certain village. The villagers having expressed their wish to cut the tree down and use its wood for a bridge, their proposal was greatly opposed by a young farmer named Heitaro, who with his forefathers had lived all along near the old tree. Heitaro also promised to give them as many other trees as they would require for the bridge. The villagers agreed to Heitaro's proposal. One day while Heitaro was returning from his work, he found a beautiful girl standing by the willow. He saw her several times afterwards and ultimately fell in love with her. They were then married. The girl, whose name was Higo (meaning *goithe* or willow), bore her husband a son named Chiyodo. Thus six years of their married life passed happily, when the Emperor Toba decided to build in Kyoto an immense temple to Kwannon, and passed orders for the collection of timber required for the building. Thereupon the villagers decided to cut the big willow tree. Heitaro again tried to save the tree by offering others of his own in exchange therefor. But his proposals were not agreed to this time. One night, when the workmen

began to cut the tree, Higo sat up and informed her husband that she was the Spirit of the willow tree which he loved so dearly, that she could not stay with him any longer, and that she would return to die with the tree, for she was part of it. Saying this, she vanished. When the tree was felled, the workmen were unable to move the log. But when Chiyodo came and pushed it, it was moved easily, his father singing an "Uta" (poetical song) in the meantime.

There is a well-known song or ballad in the "Uta," style which is said to have originated from this event ; it is sung to the present day by men drawing heavy weights or doing hard labour :—

Is it not sad to see the little fellow,
Who sprang from the dew of the Kumano Willow,
And is thus far budding well ?
Heave ho, heave ho, pull hard, my lads.*

In another story, a high official at the Emperor's Court eagerly coveted an extraordinarily fine plum tree which was in the possession of a gardener. This tree was of the *furyo* kind (which means "lying dragon") and was, therefore, highly prized. When the official's steward came to remove this tree, the Spirit of the Plum Tree, assuming the appearance of a beautiful girl, appeared and told him to kill her first. Taking her at her word, the steward made a cut at her with his sword, whereupon she disappeared and a branch of the tree with the flowers on it fell down. The tree, soon after, withered and died.†

In a third story, the Spirit of a holy Cherry tree assumes the form of a handsome young man and loves a maiden named Hanano. When she came to know that

* Smith's *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan*, pp. 12-18.

† *Op. cit.*, pp. 319-325.

the youth she loved was no other than the Spirit of the Cherry tree, she renounced the world, assumed the garb of a priestess and became one of the caretakers of the temple in the grounds of which the holy Cherry tree stood.*

In the story entitled: "The Princess Peony," while the Princess Aya was one night walking in the peony-bed of her father's garden, her foot slipped; and she would have fallen into the water, had not a young man appeared, as if by magic, caught her and disappeared. She at once fell in love with him. Thereafter she fell ill at not being able to find him; and the doctors were unable to cure her. Her father told off a person of great strength to capture the young man whenever he would appear on the next occasion. The next time the mysterious youth appeared, he was caught by the officer told off for this purpose. But the latter soon found to his surprise that what he held in his arms was nothing but a large peony. The flower was taken to the Princess' room and put into a vase of water near her pillow. Thereafter she gradually recovered; and the peony continued to remain in perfect bloom. But the Princess was subsequently married to another young man; and thereafter the peony was found dead and withered. †

In another story, an old man loved chrysanthemums and was therefore called Kikuo. When he fell ill, the Spirits of the Chrysanthemums, assuming the guise of beautiful children, appeared to him and said that they would not survive his death. Strange to say, when the old man grew worse, the chrysanthemums began to fade; and when he died, the flowers also withered at that time. ‡

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 202-207.

† *Op. cit.*, pp. 291-296.

‡ *Op. cit.*, pp. 287-290.

The Lotus flower plays an important part in the folklore of the Japanese. It is also supposed to have its indwelling Spirits and to drive away impure and evil beings of the same kind. This belief is strikingly illustrated in another folk-tale entitled: "The Spirit of the Lotus Lily." In this story, it is stated that an epidemic having broken out in Idzumi, thousands of people died of it. The feudal Lord of Koriyama, who lived in Idzumi, was attacked with the prevailing disease. His wife and child were also stricken. Doctors from all parts were summoned, but could not afford them any relief. At this time, a *yamabushi* (mountain-recluse) arrived at the Lord Koriyama's castle, informed Tada Samon, the next highest official in the castle, that the Lord's illness had been brought about by an evil Spirit, who had entered the castle because no defence against impure and evil spirits had been put up. He further added: "The saints (Rakkan) of old have always told us to plant the lotus lily, not only in the one inner ditch surrounding a castle, but also in all the ditches and to plant them all around the same. The lotus, being the most emblematic flower in our religion, is the most pure and sacred; for this reason it drives away uncleanness which cannot cross it. If your lord had kept the northern ditches of his castle filled with water, clean, and had planted the sacred lotus, no such evil Spirit would have come, as the present one sent by Heaven to warn him. If I am allowed to do so, I shall enter the castle to-day, pray that the evil Spirit of Sickness should leave and plant lotuses in the northern moats. Thus only can the Lord of Koriyama and his family be saved." Both Samon and the Lord having agreed to this proposal, the *yamabushi* washed his body and prayed that the evil Spirit of

Sickness should leave the castle and then had the northern moats cleansed, repaired, filled with water and planted with lotuses. Then he disappeared mysteriously. As was to be expected, the Lord Koriyama, his wife and son became rapidly better and completely recovered in a fortnight. The castle was thenceforth called the Lotus Castle.

One day, a samurai, passing along one of the castle-moats, saw that two beautiful boys, about six or seven years of age and emitting a powerful but sweet scent resembling that of the lotus lily, were playing on the edge of the moat. Mistaking them for *kappas*, he slashed at them with his sword right and left. In the morning, he found nothing but the stalks of lotus lilies sticking out of the water in the vicinity. Thereupon he was convinced that the two boys were the Spirits of the lotus who had saved the Lord of Koriyama and his family from death. Ashamed of having drawn sword on his master's most faithful friends, he disembowelled himself to appease the Spirits.*

Spirits of Deceased Persons passing into Birds and Inanimate Objects.—Spirits of deceased persons are some times believed to pass into birds and inanimate objects. In the story entitled: "The Diving Woman of Oiso Bay," † the Spirit of a deceased samurai named Takadai is mentioned as having passed into the seagulls, which began to swarm over the exact spot where he had drowned himself in a fit of despair for having had his overtures of marriage refused by a beautiful fisher-girl named O. Kinu whom he loved to distraction.

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 267-273.

† *Op. cit.*, pp. 136-143.

In another story entitled : "Great Fire caused by a Lady's Dress,"* the daughter of a rich pawnbroker of Tokio died of a broken heart brought about by unrequited love. After her death, her father presented to the Temple of Hommyoji a superb dress which cost nearly 4,000 yen and which he had given her in order to comfort her distressed mind. Such dresses are carefully preserved in the temples in order that the priests might be reminded to say prayers for their late owners. The head-priest of the temple, who was a dishonest man, stole the dress and sold it secretly to a secondhand dealer in such things. A year later, the dress was again donated to the same temple by another father whose daughter had died of a love-affair and had been buried on the same day of the same month as the first girl, he having bought the robe at the secondhand-clothes shop. The head-priest sold it again. In the following year in the same month and on exactly the same day as that on which the first and the second girls had died, another girl of exactly the same age was buried in the temple cemetery, having also died of a love affair, and having also worn the magnificent dress that the first and second girls had worn. The said dress was duly presented to the temple for the third time. Being stricken by his conscience, the head-priest assembled all the priests of the temple, made a hasty confession, and asked for advice. The assembled priests came to the conclusion that the Spirit of the first girl had taken up its abode in the dress and that it must be burnt with some ceremony in order to appease the said Spirit. Accordingly on a fixed day, a great ceremony was held and the robe was set fire to. As it took fire, a sudden gust of wind rose which fanned the whole into a flame and, having blown

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 82-87.

some of the embers of the fire to the ceiling of the temple, burnt down the whole edifice.

Exorcism of Ghosts and Spirits.—Just as the Japs are troubled with the belief in the existence of ghosts and spooks, they have an elaborate ceremony for exorcising them away. It is known as the *Setsuban*. On the eve of the *Setsuban*, a little after dusk, the *Yaku-otoshi*, or the caster-out of devils, perambulates the streets, rattling his *shakujo*, and uttering his strange professional cry: "Devils out! Good fortune in!" For a modest fee, he performs the ceremony of exorcism in any house to which he may be called. The whole function consists in the recital of certain passages of a Buddhist *kyo* or sutra, and the rattling of the *shakujo*. Afterwards dried peas (*shiro-mame*) are scattered about the house in four directions. For some mysterious reason, devils do not like dried peas and fly therefrom. The peas thus scattered are afterwards swept up and carefully preserved until the first thunderclap of spring is heard, when it is the custom to cook and eat some of them. After the devils have been properly cast out, a small charm is placed above all the entrances of the dwelling-house to prevent them from returning thereto. This consists of a little stick about the length and thickness of a skewer, a single holly leaf, and the head of a dried *iwashi* which is a kind of fish resembling a sardine. The stick is stuck through the middle of the holly leaf; the fish's head is fastened into a split made in one end of the stick; and the other end is inserted into some joint of the timber-work immediately above a door.*

Japanese Belief in the Transformation of Human Beings into Animals.—The Japanese also believe that human beings can also be transformed into animals. A

* Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II., pp. 498-499.

courtier of the Emperor So is said to have been turned into a serpent. The wife of Yosei is stated to have been transformed into a moth. In the same way, the mother of Ogan is alleged to have been turned into a *Yasha* or vampire bat.

Foundation-Sacrifice among the Japs.—While discussing the spirit-lore of the Japanese, it will not be out of place to describe the custom of Foundation-Sacrifice prevalent among them. When a new bridge is built, an ancient Japanese custom requires that the first persons to pass over it must be the happiest members of the community. It is said that when Horio Yoshiharu, the great general who became daimyo of Izumo in the Keicho era, first undertook to construct a bridge over the mouth of the river, the workmen laboured hard but to no purpose, for the work done by them by day-time was swept away during the night. When the pillars were, however, finished, they began to give way, and were finally swept away by a flood. Thereafter, as often as they were repaired, so often were they destroyed. Then a human being was buried alive in the river-bed below the foundation of the middle pillar; and thereafter the bridge remained firm and stable for three hundred years. It is said that, in dark nights, a spectral fire flitted about that pillar between the hours of two and three.*

Human Sacrifice.—The subject of Foundation-Sacrifice naturally leads me to that of Human Sacrifice in ancient Japan. Up to the time of the eleventh Emperor Suinin, the living retainers and horses of the members of the Imperial family and of other personages of high rank used to be buried with their owners when the latter died. When the said Emperor's younger brother died in B. C. 2, they buried along with him his

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 148-149.

living retainers, placing them erect in a circle around him and leaving their heads protruding out of the ground. Hearing their agonizing cries, the Emperor was deeply moved and determined to put a stop to this inhuman custom. When the Empress herself died four years later, the Emperor held a consultation with his Counsellors for the purpose of devising some plan whereby this cruel custom could be avoided. One of his Counsellors thereupon suggested that, instead of burying the living retainers, clay images of men and women and horses should be set up in a circle around the burial-place. This suggestion pleased the Emperor greatly, who thereupon ordered images to be made at once and buried around the dead Empress. These images, used as a substitute for living retainers, were called *Tsuchio Ningio* (clay images) and have been found in many parts of the country, especially in the home provinces where the burial of the Imperial families and the aristocracy related thereto used to take place. This practice of burying images appears to have become completely extinct about 700 A. D.*

SECTION II.—ANIMAL-LORE AND TREE-CULT.

* *Japanese Belief in Mythical Animals*.—The Japanese believe in the existence of some mythical animals, which are, according to Gordon Smith, half-man and half-turtle and called Kappa.† But Lafcadio Hearn says that the Kappa or the Ape of Waters is not a sea-goblin but a river-goblin which haunts the sea in the neighbourhood of river-mouths, and is always on the look-out for drawing down unwary swimmers, killing them and devouring their entrails only. The corpses of

* *Vide Murray's Japan*, pp. 64-66.

† *Smith's Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan*, p. 256; p. 270.

those, who have been seized and eaten by the Kappa, may be cast on the shore after many days and, unless long battered against the rocks by the surf or nibbled by fishes, will show no external wound, but would be light and hollow—empty like a long-dried gourd. *

Japanese Beliefs about Cats.—Cats with long tails are believed by the Japanese to be goblins in feline shape. Hence their tails are cut off during kittenhood in order to check their tendency to become goblins. Tails or no tails, cats are supposed to be magicians and credited with the possession of the power to make corpses dance. Japanese seamen are afraid of the O-bake, the honorable ghosts of the persons who are drowned in the sea. Cats are therefore kept on every Japanese ship, as they are supposed to keep the O-bake away. And of all cats, a *Mike-neko*, or a cat of three colours, is most valued by the Japanese sailors. Cats are believed to be ungrateful. "Feed a dog for three days," says a Japanese proverb, "and he will remember your kindness for three years; feed a cat for three years and she will forget your kindness in three days." Cats are supposed to be laboring under a curse, for the cat and the venomous serpent did not weep at the death of Buddha and shall, therefore, never enter into the blissful regions of the Gokuraku. †

Japanese Folklore about Tortoises.—The tortoise or turtle plays an important part in the folklore and art of Japan. The land tortoise is believed to be the servant of the Buddhist divinity Kompira; and the sea-turtle the servant of the Dragon King who lives beneath the sea. If a pious fisherman finds a tortoise, he writes, upon its back, characters signifying "Servant of the Deity Kompira," and then gives it a drink of saké and sets it

* Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II., pp. 505-506.

† Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II., pp. 368-369 & 508-509.

free. All tortoises are believed to live for a thousand years, wherefore one of the frequently recurring symbols of longevity in Japanese art is a tortoise. The sea-turtle figures in the beautiful old folk-tale of Urashima or the Japanese Rip Van Winkle, which has been mentioned *infra*.* In the same way, the figure of the lobster is also used in Japanese art as a symbol of ripe old age, because, as the lobster's body is bent double, so the body of the man, who is blessed with extreme longevity, becomes also bent.

* *Cock-tore of the Japs.*—The great Deity of Mionoseki, who is the patron of mariners and rules over storms and tempests, hates cocks, hens and eggs. No boat or junk or steamer can be hired to carry to Mionoseki so much as the feather of a chicken, much less an egg. It is even said that, if you have eaten eggs in the morning, you must not visit Mionoseki until the following day. Any vessel, which has on board a cock or a hen or an egg or even a semblance thereof, will encounter tempestuous weather during its voyage. The Great Deity's abhorrence of the cock is accounted for by a legend, related in the *Kojiki*, which is to the effect that His Deityship used to go to Cape Miho (Mionoseki) to pursue birds and catch fish and, for other reasons also, used to absent himself from home at night; but he had to return home before dawn. In those days, the cock was the Great Deity's confidential servant whose duty it was to crow lustily in order to inform him of the time for returning. But on one occasion, Chanticleer failed to perform his duty; and the Deity, returning to his boat, found his oars lost and, consequently, had to paddle with his hands which were badly bitten by fishes. †

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 367.

† *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 230-231.

Belief about Wagtails.—The *Sekirei* or the wagtail is believed to be sacred to Izanami and Izanagi, for, according to a legend, the gods are stated to have first learned the art of love-making from them. Consequently, nobody ever injures or terrifies these birds, at least in the neighbourhood of Oba.*

Tree-Cult of the Japs.—Many fine trees, such as the splendid cryptomeria, camphor and camellia, which grow to the size of forest trees, are planted round every Shinto temple in order that their timber might be utilized in the repairing thereof in the future. When they grow up and become very fine, people become fond of looking at them and, in course of time, consider them to be sacred and, as the result thereof, hang a fringe of thatch or rope round them to denote that they are the abodes of deities.†

Lafcadio Hearn has described a sacred cedar tree which is said to possess the miraculous property of curing toothache and ensuring longevity. He says :—
 “From the hamlet of Shimonishimura to the Temple of Jama-Wakasu-Jinga is a walk of twenty minutes.
 * * * * * Before the gate of the temple stands the famous cedar, not remarkable for height, but wonderful for girth. Two yards above the soil, its circumference is forty-five feet. It has given its name to the holy place. * * * Tradition avers that this tree was planted by a Buddhist nun more than eight hundred years ago. And it is alleged that whoever eats with chopsticks made from the wood of that tree will never have the toothache, and will live to become exceedingly old.”‡ He further adds : “Speaking

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 298.

† Sladen's *The Japs at Home*, p. 184.

‡ Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II., p. 598.

of the supposed power of certain trees to cure toothache, I may mention a curious superstition about the *yanagi*, or willow tree. Sufferers from toothache sometimes stick needles into the tree, believing that the pain caused to the tree-spirit will force it to exercise its power to cure."

SECTION III.—NATURE-MYTHS AND DREAM-LORE.

Japanese Beliefs about Certain Stones.—Japan is a country where the suggestiveness of natural forms is recognized. Consequently, the Japanese entertain many curious beliefs and superstitions about stones. There are to be found throughout Japan many famous stones which are held to be either sacred or haunted or to be possessed of miraculous powers. Among these are the Women's Stone at the temple of Hachiman at Kamakura, the Sesshō-seki or Death Stone of Nasu, and the Wealth-giving Stone at Enoshima, which are held in great reverence by pilgrims. There are also legends current of stones having shown sensibility, as, for instance, the Nodding Stones which bowed down in obeisance before the monk Daita when he preached the gospel of Buddha before them; and the great stone in the middle of the Ohosaka road, mentioned in the *Kojiki*, which, on being struck by the Emperor O-Jin with his august staff, is said to have run away.*

Japanese Beliefs about the Thunder.—The Japanese believe in the existence of a Thunder-animal. Whenever a thunderstorm comes, the women, children and, perhaps, all the members of a Japanese family will suspend their big brown mosquito-curtains and squat down thereunder till it blows over. This they do under the belief, which is current from very ancient times, that the Raiju or Thunder-animal cannot pass through mosquito-curtains,

* Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II., p. 348.

in other words, lightning cannot kill anybody concealed under a mosquito-curtain. It is further alleged that this animal springs from tree to tree during a storm; and therefore it is considered very dangerous to take shelter under trees in times of thunder and lightning. It is also believed to be fond of eating the human navel. The Japs, therefore, carefully cover up their navels and, if possible, lie down upon their stomachs during thunderstorms. Incense is always burnt during storms, as its smell is said to be repugnant to the Thunder-animal. A tree stricken by lightning is believed to have been torn and scarred by this animal's claws; and bits of its bark and wood are carefully collected and preserved because the same are supposed to have the property of curing toothache. *

Japanese Dream-lore.—Like every other nation on the surface of the globe, the Japanese entertain various beliefs about dreams and have diverse methods for interpreting them. To dream of the sacred Mountain Fuji is considered by the Japs the luckiest of all dreams. The second best dream is that of a falcon (*taku*). The third in order of merit is the dream of the egg-plant (*nasubi*). To dream of the sun or of the moon is considered very lucky; but it is still more so to dream of stars. It is considered a very good omen for a young wife to dream of swallowing a star, which is interpreted to signify that she would become the mother of a beautiful child. Dreaming of a cow or a horse is lucky; but the latter signifies travelling. To dream of rain or fire is considered a good omen. Just as in England, there are some dreams which are regarded as "going by contraries." Similarly in Japan, dreaming of having one's house burnt up or of funerals, or of being dead, or of talking to a

* *Op. cit.* Vol. II., pp. 500-501.

dead person's ghost is lucky. Some dreams, which are regarded as good if dreamt by women, signify the reverse when dreamt by persons of the opposite sex; as, for instance, it is held lucky for a woman to dream that her nose bleeds; but, if dreamt by a man, it betokens evil. To dream of much money signifies future loss; whereas dreaming of the *koi* or of any fresh-water fish is the most unlucky of all. The latter dream is the most curious of all, considering that, in other parts of Japan, the *koi* is a symbol of good fortune.* To dream of the dead is considered lucky and betokens that the dreamer will soon get married. If a dream is regarded as unlucky, it is believed that, if the fact of the dream is whispered to the nanten plant, the dream will not come true.† The Japs have also got a charm for bringing lucky dreams. For this purpose, they hang over their beds *takara buné* or little plaited grass ships of wealth with the seven Gods of Riches seated in them.‡

It is a cardinal article of belief among many races of people inhabiting various parts of the globe that, during sleep, the soul or spirit of the sleeper leaves the body and goes about wandering. Among the ancient Hindus, the same belief was entertained. It was believed by them that "during the dream the soul, after leaving the body, wanders at its will; builds up a world according to its fancy, creates for itself chariots and houses, lakes and rivers, manifold shapes, a gorgeous playground wherein it acts and enjoys and suffers, 'either rejoicing with women, or laughing with its friends, or beholding horrible sights.' Till at last, tired out, just as a falcon after roaming hither and thither in

* Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II., p. 353.

† Hearn's *Out of the East*, p. 270.

‡ *Brhad*, IV., 3; *Chând*, VIII., 12-3.

the sky, tired, flaps its wings and is wafted to its nest,—so the soul returns from that playground of his to the body ; when in deep, fast sleep it wants no more, and dreams no more.”* Therefore they say : “Let no one wake a man brusquely ; for that is a matter difficult to be cured for him if the soul find not its way back to him.”† Precisely the same kind of belief prevails among the Japanese. As soon as a person falls asleep, the soul is supposed to leave the body and go out to play. If anybody is awakened all of a sudden and violently, it is believed that he would die, because his soul, being absent from the body, cannot return to it after he is awakened. The soul is supposed to possess form and colour, and to be a small, round, black body ; and the adventures of the disembodied soul, *i.e.*, the black ball apart from its owner, form the stock-subject of discussion in Japanese novels and imaginative literature.‡

SECTION IV.—HOUSEHOLD CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

Household Customs and Superstitions.—Household superstitions influence women and children principally and have no connection with religion or the priests. Some of these are useful from a moral or educational standpoint, considering that they inculcate lessons of tidiness and benevolence, and teach the good habits of cleanliness and nicety in house-keeping ; while others are useful as weather-prognostics, or warnings intended to guard against fire or other calamities. Mr. Griffis says : “ So far as I could judge, in Japan, the majority of the lower classes implicitly believe the household superstitions current among them ; and though, in the upper strata of society, there were many men who laughed at them, the power of custom emboldened the women and children.

* *Bṛhad*, IV., 3-14.

† Sladen's *Onceer Things about Japan*, p. 111.

‡ Griffis's *The Mikado's Empire*, p. 472.

The greater number of these are believed by the larger portion of the people particularly in the country. Among these superstitions is the one which forbids the sweeping of the rooms of a house immediately after one of the inmates has started on a journey, or gone away in order to be absent for some time. It is said that, if the rooms are swept, all the luck of the house would be swept out with him. If a person is very ill, and the cup of medicine intended for him is overturned by accident, it is taken as a sure indication of his recovery. This would seem to show as if the Japs believed in the truth of the saying "Throw physic to the dogs." Some curious superstitions are prevalent about the paring of finger-nails. There is a standing prohibition against the cutting of finger-nails just before starting on a journey, as it is feared that the disregard of this superstition would entail disgrace upon the person at the place of his destination. The same prohibition extends against the paring of nails at night-time, as it is believed that, if a person does so, cat's nails will grow out of his fingers. If a child cast the clippings of his nails into the brazier or fire, some calamity is sure to befall him. If anybody is cutting his nails, and a piece of the clipping happens, by accident, to be cast into the fire, he will die soon. This danger is, however, averted by burning some salt in the fire.

This mysterious preservative power of salt has given rise to several other household superstitions. A housewife will not, for all the world, buy salt during night-time. When it is, however, purchased during the day-time, a small part of it must first be thrown into the fire to avert all impending dangers, especially family-quarrels. This useful article of seasoning is also scattered about the threshold and within the house, just after a funeral, in order to purify the same from uncleanness.

If a person loses a tooth, either artificially at the hands of a dentist, or by forceps, or by accident, he, in order to ensure the growth of another tooth in the empty socket, buries it, if it is from the upper jaw, under the foundation of the house, and, if from the lower jaw, throws it on to the roof of the house. If a person, while eating, happens to bite his tongue, it is taken as a sign that somebody else is begrudging him his food.*

When smallpox rages in an epidemic form in a neighbourhood, the people thereof, who do not wish that their children should get attacked by this fell disease, write a notice on the front of their houses to the effect that their youngsters are absent therefrom; and doing so, is said to keep off the disease. This is similar to the custom that prevails among the Hindus of Northern India, according to which parents, whose children die in infancy, give to the latter opprobrious names, or, if the children be girls, dress them as boys and *vice versa*, in order to cheat death or the disease-demon of his intended victims.

Many Japanese superstitions are connected with death. A Jap will never sleep with his head placed northwards and his feet pointing to the south, because the corpse of a Japanese is always placed in that position. So deeply engrained is this superstition that printed diagrams showing the cardinal points of the compass are posted up in the sleeping-rooms of private houses and hotels for the benefit of the superstitious sleepers. Mr. W. E. Griffis says: "I have often noticed, in the sleeping-rooms of private houses, where I was a guest, and in many of the hotels, a diagram of the cardinal points of the compass printed on paper, and

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 466-470.

pasted on the ceiling of the room, for the benefit of timid sleepers. Some Japanese, in travelling, carry a compass, to avoid this really natural and scientific position in sleep. I have often surprised people, especially students, in Japan, by telling them that to lie with the head to the north was the true position in harmony with the electric currents in the atmosphere. I used to shock them by invariably sleeping in that position myself."*

The plaintive howling of a dog, during the night, portends, to the Japanese, a death in some family living in the vicinity of that animal.† This superstitious belief also prevails among the Hindus of Bengal.‡

The primitive but touching custom of calling the name of the dead immediately after death prevails among the Japanese of Oki and Izumo. It is believed that the call may be heard by the fleeting soul which might sometimes be thus induced to return. Therefore, when a mother dies, the youngest child (always the pet one) should first call her, and then the other children. Thereafter the husband and all those who loved her cry to her in turn.§

It is also the custom to call loudly the name of one who faints, or becomes insensible from any cause whatever. It is, however, said that, of those who swoon from pain or grief especially, many approach very nearly to death and always undergo the same experiences ||

Japanese Folklore about the Hair.—The Greek myth about Medusa has many an analogue in Japanese

* Griffiths's *The Mikado's Empire*, p. 468.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 468.

‡ *Vida the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. II., pp. 13-14.

§ Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II., p. 611.

|| *Op. cit.*, p. 611.

folklore. There are many Japanese folk-tales, of which the heroines are uncommonly beautiful girls, whose hair, however, turn to snakes at night and who are ultimately discovered to be either dragons or dragons' daughters. But, in olden times, it was believed in Japan that the hair of any young woman might, under certain trying circumstances, as, for instance, under the influence of long-repressed jealousy, transform themselves into serpents.

In ancient times, Japanese noblemen used to keep their concubines (*makake* or *aishō*) under the same roof with their lawfully-wedded wives (*okusama*). Although these ladies lived in perfect seeming amity by daytime, their secret hatred for each other would manifest itself at night by their respective long black tresses uncoiling themselves and hissing and striving to devour those of the other. Their hatred for each other went to such a length that, even, the mirrors of the sleeping ladies would dash themselves against each other, for an ancient Japanese proverb says that "a mirror is the soul of a woman." There is a well-known tradition about one Kato Sayemon Shigenji, who beheld, in the night, the hair of his wife and that of his concubine, changed into vipers, writhing together and hissing at and biting each other. Then Kato Sayemon felt sorely sorry for that bitter hatred which existed among the women of his household on account of his own fault. He thereafter shaved his head and became a priest.*

Japanese superstition about the left side.—In ancient Japanese philosophy, the left side is considered as the "pure" or fortunate one—a theory, perhaps, based on the old belief, which is common enough among the uneducated people in Europe even at the present day, that the heart lies to the left.

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 425-427.

The modern Japs, accordingly, twist the *shime-nawa*, of whatever thickness it may be, to the left so that the direction of the twist might be in that way.*

Some Curious Japanese Superstitions.—They also entertain superstitious beliefs about using only one light in the house at once; about breaking off the teeth of a comb in the night time; about the destination of the first arrow shot in battle, and a host of others. Impurity is superstitiously attached to the other at the birth of a child, and to the house and those associated with it, in which a death has occurred. In former times, a mother, when about to be confined, was required to retire alone into a separate dwelling or hut without windows. The custom also prevailed, in ancient times, of abandoning a dwelling house in which a death had occurred. This custom gave rise to the practice, so often referred to in ancient Japanese documents, of each new Emperor occupying a different palace from that of his predecessor. The Japanese have also a curious superstition about fighting with the back to the sun. This practice is said to have originated from the fact that, at a battle, the Japanese Prince Itsu-se was hit in his hand by an arrow shot by Prince Nagasune. Thereupon the former exclaimed:—"It is not right for me, an august child of the Sun Goddess, to fight facing the sun. It is for this reason that I am stricken by the wretched villain's hurtful hand." The wounded prince died from the effects of the wound after a few days.†

SECTION V—DOMESTIC MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Japanese Manners and Customs.—The Japanese have curious manners and customs. Mr. Douglas Sladen says:—"You may see a Japanese do almost anything

* Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. II., p. 495.

† Murray's *Japan*, pp. 84-5; p. 54.

in the street, except blow his nose. It is not good manners to be seen blowing your nose in Japan, but you may belch in any company ; it is bad manners not to belch if you are dining with a Japanese ; it looks as if the dinner was not good enough to make you overeat yourself. When the Japanese is having a night out, he gets drunk before dinner and not after. Tooth-picks are only used with a hand covering the mouth, and they should, by rights, be inscribed with a poem. Meals are served *à la Russe*. The Japanese have not only a language of flowers, but a language of hair and fans. Improper proposals are made with the fan ; and a woman's hair tells a man of the world whether she is an unmarried woman, or a wife, or a widow. In the case of the last, it even tells you whether she is willing to marry again. Large ears are a mark of beauty in Japan ; and fat people are much admired. The Japanese even write their letters in the street. They write with a paint-brush on a roll of wrapping paper which is about 40 feet long. When they have written all they want—the wrong way—from right to left, they tear it off, fold it up, and push it into an envelope about 6 inches long and 2 inches wide ; the address is written up and down, beginning with the name of the country—the last thing on the envelope is the person's name. Middlesex, Southgate, Osidge, Lipton Thomas Sir.* Women, after getting married, stain their teeth black and shave or pluck out their eyebrows.† The Japs do all their flirting with their parents.‡ They have no proper words for *yes* and *no* ; and some of the funniest Japanese comes of there being no equivalents for the said words.§

* Staden's *Queer Things about Japan*, pp. 51-2.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 418.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

§ *Op. cit.*, pp. 74-5 ; p. 135.

Silence means dissent in Japan.* They have a different bow and a different salutation for a man who is below you, or your equal, and several different kinds for the people who are above you. They have even a different language for each, and can be dreadfully insulting to people of no consideration by applying to them the set of numerals which are properly reserved for animals—which is the Japanese way of calling a man a beast.† The Japanese carries his frankness even into mourning, for he puts on mourning for so long and abstains from sexual relations for a third of the period. This is mortification of the flesh in the real sense of the term.‡

SECTION VI.—JAPANESE DIVINATION AND CHARMS.

Japanese Methods of Divination—Mention is frequently made in the oldest Japanese documents of divination, or the process for ascertaining the wish of the gods. The oldest method mentioned is by using the shoulder-blade of a deer. Flesh was entirely scraped off from it which was then placed over a fire made from cherry wood. The divine will was ascertained from the cracks which were caused by the fire in the wood. A later mode was that wherein the shell of a tortoise was used in the same way as the shoulder-blade of the deer.§

Charms.—The Japs have various kinds of charms for the protection of their houses from fires and thieves. Mr. Lafcadio Hearn says :—" Upon almost every door there is one ofuda especially likely to attract the attention of a stranger, because, at the foot of the column of ideographs composing its text, there are two small

* *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 68; pp. 200-1.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 279.

§ Murray's *Japan*, pp. 84-5.

figures of foxes, a black and a white fox, facing each other in a sitting posture, each with a little bunch of rice-straw in its mouth, instead of the more usual emblematic key. These ofudas are from the great Inari temple of Oshiroyama, within the castle grounds, and are charms against fire." *

The Japanese thief has recourse to a charm in order to enable him to carry out his nefarious designs with impunity. When he is about to commit a burglary in a certain house, he effects his entrance into it, then performs a nameless operation in a certain part of the yard, and covers the spot with a *tarai* (a kind of tub), turned upside down. He believes that, by doing so, a magical sleep will overpower all the inmates of the house, and that he will thus be able to help himself to whatever he pleases and carry it away, without being heard or seen by anybody.

But every Japanese housewife knows the counter-charms. Before turning in for the night, she lays a *hōcho* or kitchen-knife upon the kitchen-floor and covers it with a *kanadarai* or brazen wash-basin, on the upturned bottom whereof is placed a single straw sandal, of the noiseless sort called *sōri*, also turned upside down. All this is done by her in the belief that it will nullify the burglar's spell, but also render it impossible for him, even should he succeed in effecting an entrance into the house without being seen or heard, to carry anything away. She also sees that the *tarai* is brought inside the house before the *amadōs* are closed for the night.

If, notwithstanding these charms or through the omission thereof, the house is broken into by a thief while the family is asleep, search is made early in the morning for the burglar's footprints; and, as soon as the same

* Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Vol. 1., pp. 151-152.

are found, a moxa is set burning upon each footprint under the impression that the light-fingered gentleman's feet will be made so sore thereby that he would not be able to run far and that the police would easily capture him. * This last charm is another instance of the Jap's belief in the efficacy of sympathetic magic.

A Rain-compelling Charm.—Japanese farmers make offerings of tiny miniature well-buckets, with rope and pole complete, very excellently made out of bamboo, to the Shinto shrine at Amamura, in order that, their Rain-God might be so far appeased as to send down rain †

SECTION VI.—FOLKTALES AND LEGENDS.

In this section, I wish to discuss a few of the typical folktales and legends of Japan and their analogues in the folklore of other countries.

Japanese Version of the Greek Legend about Perseus and Andromeda.—There is a folktale current among the Japanese, which bears a close resemblance to the Greek legend about Perseus and Andromeda. Hojo Takatoki, who ruled over Japan about the year 1320, banished a samurai named Oribe Shima to one of the islands of the Oki group for some offence committed by the latter. Oribe had a beautiful young daughter named O Tokoyo San. Left at her old home and rendered very miserable by separation from her dearly loved father, she resolved to go to him or die in the attempt. As a child, she had learnt to dive with the women whose daily duty it was to collect awabi and pearl oyster-shells, and therefore knew no fear. The fishermen, to whom she appealed for help, refused to row her across the sea to the Obi Island; but she was

* *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 603—604.

† *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 613.

not deterred by their refusal. One day, finding a light boat, she got into it and, by her unaided, exertions, sculled herself across the sea and, at last, reached the rocky shore of the Obi Island. She wandered from one place to another but was unable to find her father's whereabouts. One night, as she was sleeping near a shrine, she heard the bitter sobbing of a beautiful young girl. On awaking, she saw her standing by the side of a man who seemed to be the shrine-keeper and was mumbling a prayer. When the prayer was finished, the priest led the girl to the edge of the rocks and was about to push her over into the sea, when Tokoyo seized the girl's arm just in time to save her. Looking surprised at her intervention, but in no way angered, the priest explained as follows :—

"We are cursed with an evil god in this island, who is called Yofuné-Nushi and lives at the bottom of the sea. He demands, once a year, a young girl as a sacrificial offering. If we neglect to comply with his demand, he becomes angry and causes great storms which drown many of our fisher folks. By sacrificing one young girl annually, much is saved ; and we have been offering this sacrifice since the last seven years. The girl, whom you see with me, is intended for this sacrificial offering."

Completely moved to sorrow by hearing this story, Tokoyo resolved to offer herself as a sacrifice to Yofuné-Nushi as a substitute for the poor weeping girl, telling the latter to go home. Thereafter, she donned the latter's white robe and prayed to the figure of Buddha in the shrine for strength and courage to slay the evil god. Placing a small dagger between her teeth, she dived into the seething sea and disappeared. Swimming downwards through the clear water lit up by the

bright moonshine, she reached a submarine cave where in she found a wooden statue of Hojo Takatoki. As she was about to take it out of the cave, she saw coming out of the cavern, a horrible luminous creature of the shape of a snake, but with legs and small scales on its body and with fiery eyes and being about 26 feet long. Feeling sure that this was the evil god Yofuné-Nushi which annually required a girl as a sacrificial offering to him, she struck it with her dagger several times and killed it. Taking the monster's carcase and the wooden statue, she rose to the surface of the water and was pulled ashore by the priest. Thereafter Tokoyo was the heroine of the hour. The priest reported the whole affair to Lord Hojo Takatoki, the ruler of the province.

Takatoki was suffering from a peculiar disease quite unknown to the medical experts of the day. The recovery of the wooden statue representing himself made it clear that he was labouring under the curse of some one whom he had treated unjustly—someone who had carved his figure, cursed it, and sunk it in the sea. Now that it had been brought to the surface, he felt sure that the curse was over and that he would get better; and he did accordingly. On hearing that the heroine of the story was the daughter of his old enemy Oribe Shima, who had been banished to the Oki Islands, he ordered his immediate release. Thereafter Oribe Shima and his brave daughter O Tokoyo returned to their own country.

The curse on the image of Hojo Takatoki had brought with it the evil god, Yofuné-Nushi, who demanded the sacrifice of a virgin annually. Yofuné-Nushi had now been slain, and the islanders feared no further troubles from storms.*

* Gordon Smith's *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan*, pp. 101—109.

Sympathetic Magic among the Japanese.—The incident, in the aforesaid folktale, of an image of Takatoki having been made and cursed and sunk in the sea in the belief that Takatoki himself would thereby be afflicted with some unknown malady, illustrates the belief of the Japs in Sympathetic Magic. This belief in "Sympathetic Magic" is based on the "Association of Ideas." Men in the lower plane of culture, having often associated in thought those objects which they find from their observation of physical phenomena to be connected in actuality, erroneously invert this process of reasoning, and conclude that this ideal connection must involve a similar connection in reality. As the result of this mistaken mode of thinking, they think that an enemy may be slain or injury done to him by making a waxen image of him and causing it to melt gradually before a fire, or by making an effigy of him and sticking nails or wooden pegs into it with the recital of suitable incantations. These practices are current among various races of people inhabiting different parts of the globe, namely, the Chaldeans, the Nabathæans dwelling on the Lower Euphrates, the ancient Egyptians, the Romans, the Peruvians, the Tibetans, the Cingalese, the Borneans, the people of the Straits Settlements in the Malayan Peninsula, the peasants of Devonshire in England, the Highlanders of Scotland, and others. Sympathetic Magic among the Japs finds another expression in the Japanese custom of "*Ushi toki mairi*" (or "Going to the shrine at the hour of the ox") whereby some forsaken woman wreaks vengeance on her truant lover by impaling the latter's straw effigy with nails upon some sacred tree until the latter dies. "To do this, the woman makes a rude image of straw, which is to represent her

victim. At the hour of two o'clock in the morning, *Ushitoki* (the hour of the ox), she proceeds (*mairi*) to the shrine of her patron god, usually the *Uji-gami* (family or local deity). Her feet are shod with high clogs, her limbs are lightly robed in a loose night-dress of white, her hair is dishevelled, and her eyes sparkle with the passion within her. Sometimes she wears a crown, made of an iron tripod reversed on which burn three candles. In her left hand she carries the straw effigy; in her right she grasps a hammer. On her bosom is suspended a mirror. She carries nails in her girdle or in her mouth. Reaching the sacred tree, which is encircled with a garland of rice-straw, before the shrine, and near the torii, she impales upon the tree with nails, after the manner of a Roman crucifier, the straw effigy of her recreant lover. While so engaged, she adjures the gods to save their tree, impute the guilt of desecration to the traitor, and punish him with their deadly vengeance. The visit is repeated nightly, several times in succession, until the object of her incantations sickens and dies."*

A Japanese Version of the Story about Bruce and the Spider.—Readers of Scottish history are well acquainted with the story related of the Scottish hero Bruce, who, after repeated reverses, was goaded on to make greater exertions by the sight of a spider having succeeded in making a web after several failures. This story, which is familiar to every school-boy from Eliza Cook's famous poem entitled "*Bruce and the Spider*", has an analogue in Japanese folklore, which narrates that, between the years 1750 and 1760, there lived in Kyoto a great painter named Okyo whose paintings fetched high prices. He had many pupils, among whom

* Griffis's *The Mikado's Empire*, p. 473.

was one named Rosetu. He was very dull and stupid and could make no progress for three years. Being discouraged by this, he gave up the hope of becoming a great painter and quietly left the school one evening, intending either to go home or to kill himself on the way. On the way, he became tired for want of sleep and food and flung himself down on the snow under the pine trees. Some hours before dawn, Rosetu's attention was attracted by the sound of splashing water. When the day dawned, he saw that the noise was being made by a carp which was persistently jumping out of the water for full three hours, evidently trying to reach a piece of *sembei* (a kind of biscuit made of rice and salt) lying on the ice of a pond close by. By his long but unsuccessful efforts, the fish had cut himself, lost many scales and was bleeding. Rosetu watched its persistency with admiration. After trying every imaginable device, the fish at last succeeded in breaking the ice and getting at the biscuit, and then swam away with it.

Rosetu was much impressed by the carp's brave perseverance and ultimate success, and thus reflected:—

"Yes", he said to himself, "this has been a moral lesson to me. I will be like this carp. I will not go home until I have gained my object. I will labour harder than ever and will continue in my efforts until I attain my end or die." After visiting the neighbouring temple and praying for success to the local deity, Rosetu returned to Kyoto and told his master Okyo the story of the carp's determination. The master was much pleased and did his best for his backward pupil. This time Rosetu progressed, and ultimately became one of Japan's greatest painters. Rosetu took for his crest the leaping carp.*

* Smith's *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan*, pp. 44-46.

Similarity between a Japanese and a Mahomedan Legend about the Spider.—There is a Mahomedan tradition to the effect that, while the great Prophet Mahomed* was persecuted in Mecca, he hid himself in a cave in order to escape from his pursuers. When his enemies came, they found a pigeon sitting on its nest at the entrance to the cave and a spider's web woven across the mouth thereof—which state of things led them to believe that no one had entered the cave lately. Under this impression, they gave up the idea of searching the cave for the fugitive Mahomed who thereafter escaped.† This legend bears a striking similarity to another related of the Japanese ruler Yoritomo. In the earlier half of his time, Yoritomo, who was the founder of the Shogunate—the first Japanese Mayor of the Palace, and a scion of the great house of Minamoto, and lived from 1147 to 1199, was once severely defeated in a battle against Oba Kage-Chika. Yoritomo, with six of his most faithful followers, ran away to save their skins and took to a large forest, where they concealed themselves in the hollow of a large tree. In the meantime Kage-chika sent his cousin Kage-taki to search for Yoritomo. But Kage-taki was not pleased with his mission, for at one time he had known and been friendly with Yoritomo. However, he went off and, shortly afterwards, found his old friend Yoritomo and his six faithful attendants concealed within the hollow of the tree. But his heart softened and, returning to Kage-chika, falsely reported to him that he had been unable to find the enemy and that he thought that Yoritomo had escaped from the forest.

Not believing his cousin's words, Kage-chika, led by Kage-taki and followed by some twenty attendants,

* *Six Months in Meccah.* By T. F. Keane (Haji Mahammad Amin). London: Tinsley Brothers. 1881. p. 82.

went to the forest in search of Yoritomo. Reaching the huge tree, Kage-chika was about to enter the hollow therein, when Kage-taki interposed saying that it was no use going therein, as there was a spider's "web" right across the entrance thereof and that it was quite impossible for anyone to get inside without breaking the said web. Being a little suspicious, Kage-chika was about to thrust his bow into the hollow to feel what was inside, when two beautiful white doves flew out of the top of the hole. Thereupon Kage-chika was convinced of the correctness of his cousin Kage-taki's words, saying that no one could be within that tree with wild doves therein and the entrance thereinto closed by a cobweb.

Thus it was that Yoritomo's life was saved by a spider and two doves. When he became Shogun in later years, he built two shrines in the temple of Tsurugaoka which itself is dedicated to Hachiman the God of War. One of these is dedicated to the Emperor Nintoku, son of Ojin, the God of War. The shrines were erected to show Yoritomo's gratitude to the God of War, for doves are known in Japan as the messengers of war, not of peace.

Japanese Version of Rip Van Winkle.—Readers of Washington Irving's *Rip Van Winkle* will recognise its similarity as regards one incident, viz., that of the supernatural lapse of time in fairy-land, to the fascinating but pathetic Japanese fairy-tale of Urashima Taro. In this story, it is related that, one day, a fisher-boy, named Urashima Taro, went to fish and caught a tortoise which is believed to be the servant of the Dragon-King beneath the sea. This tortoise he set free with a prayer to the gods. Then the daughter of the Dragon-King of the sea appeared to him, in a dream, and took him to her father's palace beneath the waters, where she married

him. There Urashima spent three years most happily in the company of his wife. But, subsequently, feeling homesick, he expressed a desire to his wife to return to his native country, whereupon she wept and said that she would never see him again. But she gave him a box which, she said, would help him in returning to her, telling him not to open it on any account. Taking the box with him, he returned to his native land, but found there everything new and altered.

Enquiring from a very old man, Urashima came to know about the story as to how he (Urashima) had been supposed to have been drowned in the sea some four hundred years ago and as to how his (Urashima's) people had gone to their long home, long, long ago. Thereupon, he went to the burial-ground and verified the old man's allegations by himself examining the tombs erected to the memory of his own self and of his kinsmen. Believing himself to be the victim of some strange illusion and entertaining some doubt as to what might be contained in the box given him by the Dragon-King's daughter, he opened it, whereupon, lo and behold! there issued from it a white mist-like vapour which floated away, leaving the box empty. Immediately the box was opened, Urashima himself became transformed into a very old man, his hairs became hoary with age, his teeth fell out, his face became shrivelled, his limbs thin and withered, his strength fast ebbd away and he fell down lifeless on the ground, overpowered by the weight of four hundred years.*

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

CHAPRA,

The 5th February 1911.

* *Out of the East: Reveries and Studies in New Japan.* By Lafcadio Hearn. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1900. pp. 4—11.

CRITICAL NOTICE.

THE PARK STREET CEMETERIES, CALCUTTA: HAND-LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS.—Compiled by G. O'Connell and E. W. Madge. With plans. Calcutta, 1911. 4to.

SINCE the publication, in 1746, of Hervey's once well-known *Meditations among the Tombs*, an interest was awakened in these "great magazines of mortality." Of records of tombs in India we have now a more or less complete list. Government has published certain volumes of Indian monumental inscriptions. We have lists for Bengal by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson, for Madras by Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., and for the United Provinces by the Rev. A. Führer. Those for Assam and the Punjab have also been issued. We do not know of any official lists (although it is more than likely some are in course of preparation) for the Central Provinces, Bombay, Burma or Ceylon. The authority for the last is Ludovici's *Lapidarium Zeylanicum*, but it gives only Dutch memorials. Among non-official works, we have Urquhart's *Oriental Obituary* (1809), DeRozario's *Monumental Register* (1815), and the *Bengal Obituary* published by Holmes and Co. in 1848 and reprinted in 1851. There is a monograph on the old tombs at Surat by Mr. A. F. Bellasis of the Bombay Civil Service, while Eastwick's edition of Murray's *Hand-book* contains some interesting inscriptions. There can be little doubt that a ramble among the tombs will teach the visitor more about the career of Europeans in this "land of regrets" than many an hour spent over musty records. Writing of the Bengal burying grounds so far

back as 1785, Sophia Goldborne observed : "Obelisks and pagodas are erected at great expense ; and the whole spot is surrounded by as well turned a walk as those you traverse in Kensington Gardens, ornamented by a double row of aromatic trees, which afford a solemn and beautiful shade: in a word, not old Windsor churchyard, with all its cypress and yews is in the smallest degree comparable to them ; I quitted them with unspeakable reluctance." The *Graphic* of so recent a date as 16th December 1911, has an illustrated article on "The Rank and File who have given us India", reproducing a few photographs taken in cemeteries.

The pamphlet before us—which, so far as we know, is the first handbook of its kind—gives, within the compass of ten pages, a list of the more notable monuments in what has been described by Lord Curzon, "the most pathetic site in Calcutta." To add to the usefulness of the brochure, plans have been provided and brief notes supplied, with a column referring the visitor to books in which fuller information may be obtained. The compilers were fortunate in having received help from so eminent a necrologist as Mr. Julian Cotton, I.C.S., and their notes leave little to be desired. Under Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, the "Father of the Bengal Artillery" and known to fame as Hastings' "second" in the duel with Francis, the compilers have given a reference to an article in *Blackwood's Magazine*. They might perhaps have added a similar reference under Dr. Tyso Saul Hancock to an article (entitled "A Friend of Warren Hastings") in the same magazine (April, 1904) from the pen of "Sydney C. Grier," as also to certain notes in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. II, p. 363) contributed by Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford. Under N. J. Halhed, Scholar, Judge

and Linguist, they give a reference to the *Bengal Obituary*, but have corrected the mistake which occurs therein regarding his relationship to the more famous N. B. Halhed. Anent the latter, it may be noted, an article appeared in an old number (No. 51) of the *Calcutta Review* from the pen of his Executor Dr. John Grant under the heading "Warren Hastings in Slippers." References to Sir John Royds, "who conscientiously discharged his important duties with honour to himself and with advantage to the public, while he benefited and advanced the society in which he lived by the benevolence of his disposition and the accomplishments of a scholar and a gentleman" may be found in Cotton's *Calcutta: Old and New* and Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. The compilers modestly omit to mention that the monument to H. L. V. Derozio, the young Eurasian poet, teacher and reformer, was renovated and marked with a tablet (with inscriptions giving the correct dates of birth and death taken from the old vestry records of St. John's) erected at the expense of one of them, *viz.*, Mr. O'Connell.

To disarm criticism they have taken the precaution to state in the prefatory note that their work does not claim to be regarded as a complete guide-book, but only mentions the "more notable" monuments. One may sometimes fail to see, however, on what principle the selection has been made. Mountford Bramley, the first Principal of the Medical College, finds a place, but one misses the name of William Twining, who served at Waterloo and was the first Assistant Surgeon to the Presidency General Hospital and the author of a now forgotten work on the Diseases of Bengal. So too, we find the name of Cudbert Thornhill, but miss that of Henry Wedderburn, who was also Master Attendant at

Calcutta and a fellow-survivor of the troubles under Suraj-ud-Daula. One would have liked to find the name of Peter Speke, after whom Sudder Street was once named 'Speke Street and who was for twelve years "a ruling voice in the Supreme Council." But, as we have said, the work does not profess to be a complete guide, and, if there should be a second edition, the few names we have ventured to suggest might perhaps be added. Meanwhile, we must be content with what we have been given. In regard to errors there are none, at least we confess to being unable to discover any. By the way, is it strictly correct to describe Sir William Nott, although he undoubtedly recaptured and dismantled the fortress of Ghazni, as the "hero" of that place?

No less an authority than Earl Curzon has been pleased to write out describing the *Hand-List* as a most useful and valuable one. The paper is good and the printing and cover do credit to the Catholic Orphan Press. Not the least noticeable feature of the work is the addition of the plans which give the visitor an idea at a glance of the sites of the monuments. The Appendix gives an extract, from the *Empress*, describing a visit of the—now, alas! practically defunct—Calcutta Historical Society to the cemeteries under the guidance of the compilers. The value of the work would, in our opinion, have been enhanced if the compilers could have seen their way to furnishing photographs and an alphabetical index of names. So also a mention of the price and of the place where the work is available would help would-be purchasers. We join the compilers in their pious hope that this small brochure may serve hereafter as a nucleus of some larger work. Indeed (in the words of no less

exalted a person than our King-Emperor) it is, among other things, "the splendid historic traditions" of Calcutta "which should preserve to it a pre-eminent position" as "the premier city of India."

K. N. DHAR, M. A.

LOYAL LEAVES—being a few selected Poems by A. S. H. Hussain, B.A.,
Bengal Education Service. Calcutta, 1911, 8vo.

THE poems contained in this little work are five in number, the last and most interesting of them being an Address of Welcome to H. I. M. King George V. They are the effusions of a cultured Moslem gentleman who is already known as a poet among his countrymen; indeed it is said of him that he was the first Muhamadan in India to publish English verses. The unexceptionable sentiments expressed by him do credit to both his heart and his common sense, while his loyalty certainly rises above all question. The brief Prefatory Note, setting forth the benefits India has derived from British rule, is as thoughtfully conceived as it is concisely put together, and should be carefully studied and widely read by all young Indians to whom, among others, its perusal cannot fail to do good. Hence this little work, it seems to us, should also be useful as a text-book for schools and colleges throughout India.

We must not omit to mention here that the Hon'ble Mr. G. W. Kuchler, C. I. E., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, has been pleased to allow the poems to be dedicated to him, while a copy which had been submitted for the acceptance of His Imperial Majesty, was suitably acknowledged by the Private Secretary. As a frontispiece to the publication we have a pleasing portrait of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress. In

the form of a supplement the author provides a curious, but not uninteresting, Genealogical Tree showing his descent from the Prophet of Arabia and his connection with certain ancient and noble families in Bengal. Both printing and paper are excellent. The price is Re. 1 only for cloth-bound copies obtainable from the author at 60, Sakaripara Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.

The work opens with an Ode on the Golden Jubilee of the late Queen-Empress Victoria, followed by two others commemorating the Diamond Jubilee of that Sovereign. Then we have one on the Coronation of His late Imperial Majesty King Edward VII. These four poems have been reprinted from previous works of the Author's. The last is the Address of Welcome to His present Majesty already referred to.

We regret that with the space at our disposal we can quote only a brief extract (taken from the last poem) as a specimen of the author's style :—

O Emperor-King within thy hand
 Lies India's future fate,
 Then bless her with thy royal love,
 Raise her and make her great.
 A world of hope thy coming brings—
 Teach thou her rulers still
 To hold her in their fostering care,
 Nor spurn her people's will.
 Heed then the prayer from lips sincere,
 From hearts that beat for thee :
 "Then like both good Victoria gone
 And Edward—thou may'st be."

* * * *

Ne'er, India, in thy storied past
 So great a day has been :
 God bless our good King-Emperor !
 God bless our Empress-Queen !

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1910-11. Bengal Government.

Report on the Administration of the Income Tax under Act II of 1886 in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the Triennium ending 31st March 1911. United Provinces Government.

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries for the five months, April to August 1911, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1909-10. Bengal Government.

Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Lower Provinces for the year 1910-11. Bengal Government.

Report on the Working of Co-operative Credit Societies in the Punjab for the year ending 31st July 1911. Punjab Government.

Report on the Operations of the Department of Agriculture in the Punjab for the year ending 30th June 1911. Punjab Government.

Report on the Excise Administration of the United Provinces for the year ending 31st March 1911. United Provinces Government.

Report on Inland Emigration during the year ending 30th June 1911. Bengal Government.

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Selected Poems by Oscar Wilde. Methuen and Co., Ltd.

The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson by Graham Balfour. Methuen and Co., Ltd.

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The Position of Women in India by H. H. The Maharani of Baroda. Longmans, Green and Co.

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The Life of John Ruskin by W. G. Collingwood. Methuen and Co., Ltd.

Royal Leaves by A. S. Hussain, B.A.

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Little People in far off Islands edited by Alfonzo Gardin. E. T. Arnold and Sons, Ltd.

Little Friends across the Sea (France and Germany). E. T. Arnold and Sons, Ltd.

Little Friends under the Burning Sun (India). E. T. Arnold and Sons, Ltd.

The A. L. Things to write about, a series of simple illustrations to be used as subjects for composition as also suitable as exercises in memory drawing. Packet I, cards 1—24; Packet II, cards 28—48. E. T. Arnold and Sons, Ltd.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXXXIV.

April 1912.

No man who hath tested learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contained with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 268.—APRIL 1912.

Art. I.—CHHOTI HAZIRI CHAT.

THE Philosopher was having his *chhoti haziri* with the Girl on the west verandah when he remarked, "Have you ever thought that the birds have social strata quite as marked, and class characteristics quite as distinctive as our own?"

The Girl confessed to having never given the subject consideration and the Philosopher continued, "Now there is that myna, surely a gentleman farmer. See how he struts about his fields, well-fed, well-groomed, a trifle proud of his ability to get on in the world, and quite ready to fight for his rights. His wife is plump and buxom, and at midday the two twitter as sweetly above the *chiqq* of that verandah as if they were sitting on the porch of a cottage in Devon, full content because the corn was safely harvested."

"I hadn't thought of them in just that way" mused the Girl as she buttered her toast, "but I saw something the other day that was most amusing. I was sitting here with a book when two pairs of mynas flew to the verandah railing and arranged themselves in a row, for all the world like a quartette at a village concert. One of them seemed to be the leader, and when he bowed they all bowed; then they began to sing. It was most absurd. The vocal gymnastics they went through

with ! The trills and warbles and funny little croaks. I wanted to laugh but was afraid I would frighten them away. With intervals of bowing and scraping they sang for several minutes as if they thoroughly enjoyed displaying their talents. Then an officious crow drove them away and took his place on the rostrum. His croaks and grimaces were too much for me and I burst out laughing. Of course he flew away. But what are the crows in your social scale ? The padres ? Their conventional black always looks rather clerical. Or do you classify them into the Black Friars and the Gray ? ”

“ Shall we so libel the cloth ? There are so many villains among them. However they are among the few birds that are said to mate for life, a most worthy trait I am sure. They are most of them as sociable as young curates and——”

“ To be sure and as fond of afternoon teas, as for instance the pair which find it always convenient to call whenever we have tea on the *chabutra*, and in a most ingratiating way chat about the weather or what not until we throw them bits of the cake or thin buttered slices.”

“ They are fond of conferences too,” remarked the Philosopher. “ The other evening as I was riding home on the grand trunk I saw fully a hundred of them congregated on a bit of barren ground at the side of a field. But sitting quite apart on the little ridge of ground that marked the boundary of the field were two crows who looked as if they were being tried by the jury assembled there. Some *babus* were passing by and I laughingly asked if this were the crow *kuchheri* and those the *badmashes* ? Quick as thought a youth replied, ‘ No, sahib, it is a wedding, and those are Ram and Sita.’ Not bad, was it ? ”

The Girl's merry laugh was her reply, but she said as she poured another cup of tea for herself, "Well there are two crows that I could recommend to their court of justice with the hope that they would receive a sentence of transportation or capital punishment. If they don't take action soon, I shall ask you to make a public example of them, for they have been killing the young chickens."

"You lack the crow's view point, my dear girl, and so I fear you would not be satisfied with the decision of the court. Leave the villains to the tender mercies of my gun. I wonder if it was one of them that I saw playing a practical joke upon a babbler the other day. The *sath bhai* was hopping about among some leaves the *mali* had left at the side of the garden path, quite oblivious of the watchful eye of the crow on the roof. But Jim was watching his chance and suddenly 'whir-r-r' his wings cut the air as with a downward swoop he carried off the unsuspecting beggar by the coat-collar. Instantly cries of alarm and indignation came from a score of *sath bhais* as they pounced upon this disturber of their peace. He dropped the poor bird and flew again to the roof, where he preened his feathers and told them it was a pity they couldn't see the humour of a little practical joke; then turning his head and cocking his eye, as if he were looking at them through a monocle, remarked that he had his opinion of people who didn't know the meaning of fair play," continued the Philosopher as he handed his cup to be refilled.

"Yes, crows are sometimes amusing villains despite their clerical garb, but where do the *sath bhais* belong in this new social order? Are they policemen? I have often heard them give warning when Tom was leaving the house for a stroll in the garden or a nap in

the sun on the verandah steps. How they hate that cat! They set up such a chatter when he appears that I have actually seen him turn and proudly dragging his enormous tail behind him walk back into the house as if determined not to let his dignity be affected by what such chatters might say of him. And I have known them to set up a great hue and cry when they saw a mongoose creeping along in the grass."

The sahib paused to take a piece of toast from the rack before he replied, "That is all very true, but to my mind *sath bhai* represents a most despicable class of people, people who can never say anything good of their neighbours, who are always turning over old, dry dusty leaves to see what they can find and who chatter, chatter, chatter, whether they find anything or not. They are scandalmongers, never using their voices for song but always for eternal gossip."

"I see," returned the Girl with a smile, "the man with the muck-rake. But what of those screaming parrots there?"

"That is easy. They are the bounders of bird society, the handsome villains of bird tragedy, fond of display and bright colours—the gaudy necktie and flashing diamond sort, you know, dear. They make a great pretence of family respectability too, the father and mother caring most tenderly for an only child until he is quite grown, and accompanying him as if they were afraid their darling would become contaminated by the society of ordinary birds. But they are thieves and knaves and incessant breeders of strife for all that."

"You certainly do give them a bad character. Whom do you consider the really worthy members of bird-society?" asked the Girl with a smile of amusement.

"Well, those brown-backed robins hopping along the verandah there seem to me like very happy middle class people who mind their own business and let other people do the same. He always looks carefully dressed, his bit of white linen is immaculate, his manners unpretentious but pleasing, all but his habit of displaying a bit of the red bandana he carries in the pocket of his coat tail; while she is the embodiment of personal neatness and modesty in public. He is very fond of his little wife too, for he calls her 'Dearest' and 'Sweet' and sings his prettiest songs to her. But I really think she is not a very good housekeeper, for their nest seems more like temporary lodgings than a home. In this respect they are something like those Bohemians that Dickens describes in 'Little Dorrit' as 'Dwellers in Hampton Court Tents.'"

"But you must confess that they are at least happy in the present even if they do not build for the future, and if Mrs. Robin does not make a nest that you collectors can carry away to your glass cases, what does it matter? You men expect too much of us women," the Girl replied with some spirit. "I suppose those sunbirds flitting about among the *quisqualis* blossoms are light-hearted summer girls, dressed to charm and please, accomplished, and as graceful as butterflies, light-hearted and merry."

"Very good, but Mrs. Sunbird builds a curious rubbish-bag of a nest, lines it with moss and down—eiderdowns and cushions I suppose—and then covers it all with a light but very useful little waterproof sunshade."

"I daresay Mr. Sunbird was responsible for the bits of rubbish in the nest, and she had to make the best of it without hurting his feelings, poor dear. Do you remember that delightful little picture of family difference

Ernest Thomson Seton draws in his story of the home-making of two sparrows? One insisted upon feather beds and the other hair mattresses. But is there such a thing as a useful family man among birds? The beauty and talents seem to be monopolized by the men of bird-society, while their wives are plain bodies with all the responsibility of housekeeping and the care of the family."

"Indeed yes. There is the paradise-flycatcher who sits with his long-plumed tail hanging over the edge of the nest while his wife goes out for a bit of air and a change," triumphantly replied the Philosopher. "You see that being handsome need not imply uselessness and lack of consideration for one's wife" with a sly glance at the Girl as he rose from his chair.

"I am not so sure. The paradise-flycatcher had probably had a jolly good meal on the wing, was tired and a bit sleepy, and relished the soft easy chair of a nest. Think so?"

II.

"I am so sorry to have kept you waiting, Philo, I thought I would at least get some flowers arranged for the chhoti-haziri table, but I got so interested in a little garden romance that I really couldn't come away. These wont look bad as they are, will they?"

The Girl came gaily down the garden path to the west verandah where the Philosopher, the bearer, and the chhoti-haziri table awaited her. Giving her generous rimmed sola topi to the servant she placed her little wicker flower basket with its motley array of garden treasures in the centre of the table, seeming with a touch of her deft-fingers to inspire every pansy, rose and Shirley poppy with a determination to look its

sweetest and prettiest. It was a knack the girl had of making the flowers look happy, and during the summer months when she was in the hills and the *mali* proudly presented the Philosopher with precise and proper bouquets each day, the *sahib* sighed and longed for the Girl or stormed vehemently as his mood determined.

"A romance?" queried the Philosopher as he pushed the girl's chair under the table.

"Yes, and a very pretty one from out of the middle ages somewhere. I was gathering the roses along the path that surrounds the circular grassplot when I noticed a dapper little hoopoo running briskly along ahead of me. He would pause as if to listen, then with absolute assurance make for a spot a few feet in front of him, thrust in his needle-like bill with remarkable precision and bring up an insect. You don't scent the mediæval romance yet? Well, whenever he brought up an especially nice titbit, he flew to the other side of the plot where his lady-love was seeking her chhoti haziri in like manner. But as he alighted he spread his wings and raised his crest as if bowing in very courtly fashion before her; then when she looked up, he very merrily, though with rather mincing steps, advanced to her and gave her the titbit. Then he would fly away in search of another. It was most charming."

"They are both exceedingly neat in their appearance and precise in their movements; but don't you think them a trifle too proper and business-like for the middle ages? To me he is rather like a painstaking, alert stock broker, one who keeps his eye on the market and knows just when to strike and secure the best returns. Can't you see him in Threadneedle Street? Besides, Mrs. Hoopoo

looks far more like a tailored twentieth century woman than like Guineveve or Enid or Elaine," replied the Philosopher as he took his cup of tea.

"Oh! Philo, how can you? Then the courtly bow goes only for commercial suavity such as characterizes Japanese merchants. But his courtesy was all for his lady-love, with others he would be most shy. Besides Imam-ud-din told me how he got his crest and the tale points to a state of morals which quite agrees with the standards held by the Knights of the Round Table.

'Who loved one only and who clave to her,
And worshipped her by years of noble needs
Until they won her.'

You see Imam-ud-din was holding the basket for me and noticing that I was watching the hoopoes he asked if I would not like to hear a story he knew about them. Of course I assented and he said that once when Solomon was going to bring to his palace another wife, presumably the Egyptian princess who was black but comely, he asked the birds to hover about her palanquin to protect her from the sun's rays. All the birds came and flying along above her made a most effective screen—all but the hoopoes who refused to obey the king's command. When they were called into the royal presence to receive the sentence of death for disobedience, the king asked them their reason for refusing to assist him. One cannot deny that they had the courage of their convictions, for they replied that a man should have but one wife and that they would not aid or abet such immorality as Solomon practised. The king was astonished at their boldness, but was so pleased with their sincerity that he not only pardoned them but gave them a crest as a reward."

"Well done, my Dear. I withdraw my references to the Exchange. A bird that was knighted by King Solomon certainly deserved something better," agreed the Philosopher.

The girl smiled triumphantly and then continued, "Do you know when I first made the acquaintance of the hoopoo? It was at Cambridge. One winter during my study there they gave The Birds of Aristophanes. I confess my knowledge of Greek at no time would have enabled me to appreciate a Greek play without the aid of an English libretto, but with that one got on very well. Chanticler is exceedingly clever, but I didn't enjoy it as much as I did The Birds. The music, staging and costumes were modern, all the rest as true to classic Greek as possible. Sometimes I think the ancients must smile at the self-satisfied complacency of us moderns who think cleverness was born with us. However the hoopoo was there, crest and all, and when I came to India, I at once recognized him as a dear acquaintance. Someone told me it was a woodpecker, but I insisted that it was not."

"No, a good many people confuse them, but the woodpecker is a gaudy bird who dresses in extremely bad taste and who has a most unpleasantly harsh laugh. He is always to be found about trees for his bill is so hard that he can penetrate the bark in search of food. The hoopoo, on the other hand, dresses quietly and neatly, has a liquid though rather monotonous note and has an exceedingly soft bill, suited only to working in sand or soft earth. But don't you think the naming of the bird is solely a matter of imitation, the name being an effort to imitate its note?"

"I hadn't thought of it before but of course it is, just as cuckoo, or the Hindustani *kawa*. I have

heard some crows whose raucous call sounded exactly like kawa-a-a kawa-a-a, haven't you? Then there are the Hindustani names for the brain-fever bird, *papeha* and for the Indian cuckoo, *koel*, those two birds who live by their wits on nothing a year. If one listens to them one realizes how suitable their names are," replied the Girl.

"But there is an interesting thing about two names for the crow, both are imitative and yet very different. The Persian word is *krook* and from it we get croak and rook in English by direct descent. The Hindi word, as you have said, is *kawa*. just as good. an imitation and yet quite different. But speaking of the fidelity of the hoopoes as well as of interpreting the sounds made by birds reminds me of the story of Ram and the Brahminy ducks. Have you heard it?"

The Girl looked her enthusiasm and interest, so without waiting for her reply the Philosopher continued, "This is a Hindu story to match your Muhammedan one. But won't you pour me a cup of tea first?"

"Oh, I am so sorry. I was so interested that I forgot."

"Forgiven and much obliged for the implied compliment," replied the smiling Philosopher. "When Ram was on his way to get Sita—another oriental romance you see—he asked birds, animals, insects, all creature-kind to help him. Of course you remember what the monkeys did. As he was going south in his search he came upon a lake where two ducks were basking in each other's smiles—imagine the smiles of a duck please—and murmuring the sweet nothings of first love ('Quack, quack,' interpolated the Girl). They seemed very happy and wise, so Ram, moved perhaps with jealousy and longing for his Sita, begged their aid in his quest. Mr. Duck acknowledged

that he could help Ram if he wished but he couldn't for a moment think of leaving his dear Love to undertake so long and perilous a journey. Who knew what might happen to her in his absence? She was so charming, he really could not leave her for a day."

"And Mrs. Duck paddled softly in the water at his side, demurely cooing, 'quack, quack,' " interrupted the Girl. "Excuse my marginal notes."

"Ram was very much amazed at the selfishness of the pair and indignant to think that his request should be denied, so in great anger he pronounced upon them this curse. They should remain where they were and enjoy each other's society all day long but when the sun set the one would fly to one bank and the other to the other and all night they would cry with longing but be unable to get to each other.

"And do they really do that? Spend their days together and their nights apart?"

"Yes, I have often heard them calling to each other across the river at dusk, the female calling 'chakwa, chakwa' and her mate answering 'chakwi,' and I have a strange hesitancy to kill a Brahminy duck because the mate will be left so lonely. It is different with geese and ducks that go about in flocks. But speaking of gregarious birds, do you know what the Hindustani people call the little birds we see in such numbers at the margin of the river and at the edge of the *talao*, the little gray and white birds?"

"The wagtails? No, they always reminded me of sweet faced nuns or deaconesses. They are so sprightly and cheery despite their sober uniforms."

"Well, they are as plucky and brave as any sister of charity, for they nest beyond the Himalayas and come down to India when the Thibetan winter cuts off

their food supply. Thousands are killed each year in crossing the passes. But the Indians call them *dhobins* probably because they frequent the banks of the streams and tanks, but as *dhobis* are proverbially neat and clean in appearance, one can find resemblance there too. But the similarity fails hopelessly in their quietness, for the *dhobi* seems to relieve his very soul with every blow of the garment upon the rock. I asked one once if he were in great pain, the sound that he uttered being nothing less than a wail of agony. He gazed at me as if he thought me quite mad, then with a polite negation continued to give expression commensurate with the physical effort he was making."

"Perhaps it was the spirits of the tortured garments and broken buttons that were distressing him. The poor clothes often bring tears to my eyes when they return, I can assure you. But speaking of wails and haunting cries, I am afraid we shall have to lay considerable responsibility at the feet of Indian birds. If anything could get on my nerves it would be the incessant tapping of the coppersmith. Sometimes I feel as if my very pulses kept time to that wretched 'tonk, tonk.'"

"Yes, and on a hot night it is the 'braintever, brainfever' of the *papiha* that nearly drives you mad, and just as you seem to be having your first restful sleep, the *kool* begins his cheerful summons to the dawn. I sometimes wonder if Anglo-Indians who end their days in Colney Hatch don't hear these birds forever."

"And in the hills the cicada makes the dusk hideous with its croaking, burring screech. But do you know it is only the male cicadas that make nuisances of themselves in that way. They must have an astonishing

opinion of their vocal charms. There was a 'Croaker's Club' in an oak tree just outside of my window last summer in the hills. There were some half dozen members. I don't know the subjects of their debates and discussions, but I do know that they poured their very souls out on the evening air. I feel sorry for their wives if they keep it up at home, but it quite explains why *they* are silent creatures for they don't get a chance when their husbands are about."

"I suppose it is all a matter of point of view. Probably the wives dote on their husband's sweet voices, my dear girl."

"Possibly. Do you remember that delicious bit in *Der Trumpeter von Säckingen* when Hidigeigei, the cat soliloquises upon man's lack of appreciation of good feline music? He could see nothing to admire in *human* vocal efforts." She replied as she rose from the table.

III.

The Girl had just indulged in her early morning stroll around the garden for she averred that there was nothing like a walk in the fresh air of a North India winter morning to sweep the dream cobwebs from her mind and prepare her for *chhoti haziri*. She came in to find the Philosopher searching for buds on the new shoots of the climbing roses that had been so mercilessly pruned a few weeks before. The Girl had nearly wept then for she was unaccustomed to the ways of the Indian *mali* and every click of the cruel garden shears had roused her sympathy for the helpless La Mareschal Neil, Gloire de Dijon and La Marque that covered the verandah pillars and softened the severe lines of the arches. She came up the verandah

steps radiant with life and health and the Philosopher greeted her with

“ ‘ Good morning, Merry Sunshine, how
did you make so soon ?

You’ve scared away the little stars
and shined away the moon ’—Eh ? ”

“ No Philo, I haven’t been doing anything half so daring, but I *have* made a discovery,” the Girl replied as she took out the pins in her *topi*, brushed back a straying lock and prepared to pour the tea.

“ A discovery ? You have been exploring this morning then. Let me see. In the fruit garden ? The lime tree ? A large nest ? ”

“ Yes. How ever did you guess ? ”

“ I have been watching it all summer. You were in the hills and I wondered how soon you would find it once you were back. The gardener has kept you supplied with limes or you would have seen it long ago. ”

“ What is it ? It is far too carefully made for a crow’s nest. It even has a roof or rather looks like an immense football with a bad hole in one side. ”

“ Do you remember that pair of *mahohes* that we used to see in the garden every morning last spring ? Black birds the size of a raven but with tobacco brown wings ? ”

“ Oh the crow pheasants that sang such amusing duets ? ”

“ Yes, I believe you said once you thought he must be suffering from liver because he felt so out of sorts in the morning that he would fly to a tree removed some distance from her and turn his back upon her most rudely. But when he began to sing, although his notes sounded like water pouring from a jug she would

obligingly chime in, about two notes above his and they would gurgle together as long as breath sufficed."

"I remember. Exceedingly clumsy birds. They seem to have more of themselves than they know how to manage. I have seen them try to balance themselves on a twig that a bulbul had just left and flounder about in hopeless awkwardness. And when they walk about the garden they strut along dragging their tails as a man might walk if he had to wear a dress with a long train."

The Philosopher smiled and said, "You should have seen them last summer when the duties of parenthood devolved upon them. First Mrs. Mohok acquired a cackle which was as absurd an attempt as a bachelor's lullaby. A few weeks later she added a magnified cluck to her repertoire that was so funny—it was pathetic. It was the raven playing the part of the hen. They seemed proud of their progeny and took them from the nest when only half fledged, yet they were always self-conscious and embarrassed, perhaps because the little chaps were so painfully ugly. They managed so adroitly that the poor things were off their hands before you came down from the hills."

"Yet they built a nest that is really a marvel for neatness, durability, and strength. It is almost as carefully made as a wicker basket."

"That is just it, my dear; they overdo everything as self-conscious people always do."

"Speaking of nests, Philo, Imam-ud-din says he is going to get me a bhaia's nest. What is it? Bhaia means brother, doesn't it?"

"Probably he said a byah's nest," returned the Philosopher. "The byah is a small brownie bird that weaves a bottle-shaped nest of grass. It is most cleverly

done. There are several compartments in each nest, and I was told as a boy that it was so made to hide the eggs from the snakes. I suppose too that a mother bird sitting upon her eggs could protect them more effectively when the opening into the apartment is so small that she could quite fill it with her head."

"I think he said it was a very friendly bird and yet I have never seen one."

"When young they are easily tamed. Some years ago one came to the bungalow that had a silver ring around each ankle. Some native had stolen it from its nest when it was tiny and had kept it as a pet. It flew straight to my shoulder and when I held out my hand, perched upon my finger. I fed it but did not cage it and it would follow me about the house devotedly. It stayed with me for months, but flew away when the nesting season came. It probably became lonely then and sought a home in preference to lodgings.

"How interesting! 'Mid pleasures and palaces though I may roam.

Be it ever so humble there's no place like home, in bird experience," rejoined the girl.

"By the way, when I was a mere boy, my bearer told me a story about the byah. Would you like it?"

"Of course. Did you ever know me to be anything but eager for a story? Especially yours, Philo dear. Tell it to me while I fill that cup of yours. I do believe it is empty."

"Well, once upon a time a monkey was watching a pair of byahs weaving a nest. He made so many unpleasant remarks that finally Mrs. Byah retorted: 'I would be ashamed if I were you. You are nearly as big as a man, you look like a man and

do many things as a man does and yet you are not clever or industrious enough to build yourself a house to live in.' The monkey was angered at this and rising he said, 'I may not be skilful enough to make a nest like this, but I am strong enough to destroy it with one stroke of my hand,' and climbing up into the tree, he tore it to pieces, then walked off chuckling to himself. 'There,' said Mr. Byah, 'see what you have done. He is now an enemy.' They then devised a nest which would be so light that it could hang from the end of a slender twig over the water's edge out of the reach of the monkey. They wove it of fine grass in a babul tree which you know is so full of thorns that the monkeys cannot climb it, and so they were safe."

"It seems to have been a contest of brains and brawn," replied the girl, "and I am glad the little birds won. I shall tell Imam-ud-din to bring me a byah's nest without fail, provided he can find a deserted one. But while you were speaking just now I heard a bird-call that I have often heard before. It reminds me of a small boy practising his finger exercises. There are only a few notes but they are repeated over and over, slowly, hesitatingly."

"Oh! that is the white-browed fantail-flycatcher. But I have always thought it like a girl learning to whistle. Listen now. She purses her lips afresh between the notes."

"You are right," and the girl laughed merrily. "But what does it look like?"

The Philosopher turned to the bearer and called for his field glasses with which he soon located the birds flitting about nervously in the mahwa tree near by and, handing them to the girl, said, "Yes, there is

a pair of them, small gray and white birds that make quick sallies out of the tree for flies, spreading their tails like fans."

"I see now, but what a long name to give such a small bird! And yet every part has its meaning; white-browed fantailed-flycatcher did you say?" And as she laid down the glasses. "There is another bird that I have seen darting out after insects in the air. It is black and has a long forked tail."

"You mean the drongo. Do you know what the Hindustani people say it says? At sunset it calls 'Thákurji, Thákurji ji ji.'

"Very good. I have been trying to interpret the early morning calls of the bulbuls. Every morning one comes gaily into the garden. He is quite a dashing cavalier. His peaked hat shows him capable of pertness but never anything undignified. He is always at ease, master of the situation and therefore lighthearted."

"But how does he say good morning?" queried the Philosopher as he watched a pair of bulbuls breakfasting on the *quis quallis* near by.

"I *think* it is 'Goodcheer, All goodcheer' that he says, but sometimes I feel as if it would take Browning's lines in Pippa Passes to express all he says in these few notes. Don't you?"

And the Philosopher murmured softly:

"The year's at the spring,
And day's at the morn;
Morning's at seven;
The hillside's dew-pearled;
The lark's on the wing;
The snail's on the thorn;
God's in His heaven—
All's right with the world."

as a bulbul, perched upon a swaying branch, poured forth the joy of his heart in song. Then turning with an amused smile to the girl, he said, "Now I have a puzzler for you. What do the owls say when they grow loquacious at evening? They certainly put a lot of energy into their jargon. I often wonder if it is intelligible to themselves."

The girl was silent for a moment, then looking up brightly said, "Have you read any of Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures? No? They are great fun. Mrs. Caudle is supposed to be a woman whose tongue is never still except when she is asleep and naturally it waxes alarmingly energetic at bed time. Poor Mr. Caudle is suffused in a flow of biting sarcasm. Keen humour, and delicious feminine logic as inconsistent as instinctive judgments must ever be. Mrs. Caudle is really kind at heart, but has unfortunately formed the habit of delivering curtain lectures. Don't you think she is like the Indian owl?"

The Philosopher laughed outright. "I must get a copy of Mrs. Caudle's effusions, I see, to understand owl language, for you couldn't possibly deliver a course of such lectures. It is not in your line."

The girl shook her head wisely, but there was a whimsical expression in her laughing eyes as she placed her serviette in its ring.

MARTHA CONNOR.

Art. II.—EVOLUTION OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL AGITATION IN INDIA.

TWO schools of Political Thought have lately been contending for the mastery of the non-official European mind of Calcutta and those portions of the Bengal Presidency that are dominated by mercantile firms holding the agencies of industries scattered about that Presidency. Both have been stirred up into unusual effervescence by the abandonment of Calcutta for Delhi as the capital of the Indian continent. It is not an easy thing to differentiate and define the mental attitudes of these two schools because, though varying in their essential principles, their expressions overlap on some important points, where they seem to play into one another in a way which, in any moral region, might be called unprincipled, but in politics may perhaps be passed over by easy consciences as one of those compromises by which peace is sometimes procured. Both schools seem to agree that the Government of India has run counter to its own many recent and emphatic professions of a desire and a determination to consult public opinion, by springing a wholly unexpected and unconsidered mine on the country; but while one school attaches paramount importance to the departure from sound practice involved in this procedure, and desires to prevent any repetition of what it considers a grave public scandal, the other, without ignoring or minimising this feature of the matter, seems to attach greater weight to the political and administrative evil believed by it to be inherent in the abandonment of a prosperous Europeanised city, identified with the rise

and consolidation of British power and prestige in India, and the centre of political and commercial activity, for the site of the ruins of a decayed Moghal Capital.

The true view and proper estimate of an important meeting held at the Chamber of Commerce on the 3rd May can hardly be taken and formed outside of that body itself until the demands formulated in the resolutions passed at it have been answered by the Government and reviewed by the press in other parts of the country, and have thus receded into their correct perspective from the unaided, sensational, if quite natural, atmosphere in which they originated. It ought to be clearly understood, in any case, that this article as a whole has no direct relation to those resolutions which though starting from the privations inflicted by the Delhi Durbar, were based exclusively on purely commercial grounds, in regard to which the most influential Calcutta business concerns may safely count on the support of their parent firms at home. These latter, as is well known, have laid injunctions on their Calcutta branches not to engage in any political action not directly bearing on mercantile profit and loss. It nowhere appears in the perfectly justifiable movement of the Chamber of Commerce that its members in any way recall or cancel any report previously made to the Government accepting the political transfer of the capital to Delhi, but reserving comment on its commercial aspects for future consideration. The most forcible portions of the present movement, such as those relating to minimum railway rates and the like, have nothing to do with the transfer of the capital, and may have occurred even though the transfer had never taken place. As a matter of fact, the only point at which the meeting in the Chamber rooms touches the transfer of the capital from Calcutta

to Delhi lies in the resolution touching the method of meeting the cost of the scheme ; and here all sound public opinion will fall in with the Chamber in agreeing that that cost must be met from Capital raised by loans and not from Revenue.

The movement that has arisen out of the common feeling shared by both schools referred to above to establish a powerful European society which shall bind all Europeans in the country into a powerful political force in order to influence the future political evolution of the country, which has stood in some danger of being influenced to a larger extent than they think desirable or good for the country by Indian politicians, who have acquired some of the devices of European politics, but do not apparently represent or have much in common with the great unrepresented masses, in whose best interests the country must be governed. So far as opposition to Indian political agitation is concerned, it doubtless furnishes a substantial bond of union between all classes of Europeans, not excluding even the more far-seeing official. But an important point has been overlooked in the compact which it has been sought to call into being. That is that, while the Chamber of Commerce, beyond cavil the most influential and responsible non-official European representative society in India, partly from the personal convictions of its strongest members and partly under instructions and pressure from head firms in Britain, has been rather chary of leaving its own strictly commercial line of evolution for the sake of starting on the thin ice of political agitation. It has sent the Government a rather mild protest against the change of capital—a protest which the less reserved members of the general community and their organs in

the press have loudly condemned. This is the section of the European body which is most violently opposed to recent changes altogether and has clamoured most loudly for a European political society which, without habitually opposing the Government, to which all Europeans in India are naturally loyal, will "stand up" to Government on occasion and insist on what they consider justice being done. All this sounds excellent in its way ; but the way is not altogether a clear one. "On occasion" is in theory one of those captivating phrases which at once captures the imagination, and may secure any amount of abstract enthusiasm. Analysed, however, it means some crucial test, in which the actual wishes of individuals, and the meanings of their words, and the tendencies of their conduct, as considered by reasoning men, are found to be so mutually destructive as not only to render any agreement impossible, but also to rend in twain any body which may attempt to take action on any particular "occasion." Take, for instance, the very occasion which has inspired the recent European agitation. The rank and file, of European society, possessing no definite responsibility in the country, even though backed by a violent press, have been in deliberate opposition to the course deliberately adopted by the responsible Chamber of Commerce in its representations to the Government. Suppose such a large political society as it is desired to conjure up with the provocation said to be furnished by the present "occasion," had been in existence and ready to act, the question which any man of common sense will ask is, whether, considering the irreconcilable views held by responsible merchants as a body and irresponsible members of the general public, the members of the Chamber would abandon their deliberate attitude

and take up with the outside clamour, or the authors of the outside clamour would abandon their attitude and take up with the views of the Chamber? It has been observed that the Chamber of Commerce was not unanimous on this "occasion," and that some of its members protested against the course adopted by it, and actually counselled it to adopt the course advocated by the Press. This is perfectly true; and full weight must be given to such isolated incidents. Nevertheless, it is easy to see that the members of the Chamber who took up this attitude must have been in a hopeless minority, or the Chamber would not have cared or dared to ignore their advice. Now, too, that the first flush of annoyance has died down, and the heads of leading firms have reminded less influential firms of the plain desire of parent firms at Home that their branches in India should not meddle too much in politics, it is to be inferred that, if a plebiscite were taken, the attitude adopted by the Chamber would be adopted by the majority, and the more violent course recommended by a small minority, even though applauded by an irresponsible press, would have been rejected. Supposing then that a large European political society had existed at the time, what must have been the result? It is certain that it would have found itself in fatal opposition to the Chamber of Commerce, unless, indeed, which is not at all improbable, this Independent society was so influenced by responsible merchants on it as to accept the course taken by the Chamber. This is what the old European and Anglo-Indian Association, which excitable lawyers have endeavoured to revolutionize, invariably did; and though, in times of special excitement, some violent spirits have inveighed against this Association for its alleged

inactivity, it has weathered many storms and rendered services to the whole community which the Government has felt bound to acknowledge. It may be hoped that this influence with the State will not be destroyed, unless something more valuable can be secured in its place. What are the probabilities of any expectation of this kind being realised? As anybody knows, who has studied the experiences of the non-official European in India for the past half century, as recorded in the press and other annals, no agitation has ever occurred to equal or come near the agitation against the "Black Act," of which the last instalment was hurled against the notorious Ilbert Bill. Although some curious writing has appeared in some sections of the European press, the recent agitation against the Government has been child's play compared with all past Black Act agitations which have united as one body all Europeans all over India. Bengal has stood alone in its recent fury, while the rest of India has laughed at its mood. Quite possibly, the recent seditious movement in some sections of Indian society has brought home to European minds the need of giving fuller expression to the innate loyalty of all Europeans to the Government than could be found in the rather rabid effusions of unknown writers in the European press. But that is an element in the mental attitude of Europeans in India which can never be overlooked, because it is always a crowning influence. No truly loyal European in India, no matter what cause of offence he may have against the British Government, would be willing publicly to accept responsibility for some of the lamentable exhibitions which, if they have not actually discredited, have in no way improved the reputation of, the European press. You may be loyal to a State and yet

disapprove its action on occasion. A State may even unwisely strain the loyalty of men of its own race. But no loyal European dare in his own name accept some of the effervescences of the more rabid sections of the press, which have been calculated to sow hatred and contempt of the Government in some susceptible minds, and thus come within reach of the criminal law. That no such disloyalty is intended may be clear enough ; and intention is the essence of criminality. But in any moral aspect of such questions—and of course the moral is the only scale whose verdicts are lastingly binding—no serious defence is conceivable of some of the political follies with which some anonymous scribblers have unhappily been chargeable. Have these persons struck the note to which all sane and sensible European society will respond in time to come ? Or has this society now settled down to a mingled feeling of regret at past excesses and of satisfaction that the storm has blown over ?

It cannot be overlooked that in propounding more recent demands for some modifications of the changes announced in Delhi on 12th December, such as the retention of a section of the Commercial Department in Calcutta, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, which has specially reserved opportunity for future action has in no way cancelled its original consent to the main policy of the Government—as some writers, anxious to secure absolution for their own earlier excesses, pretend to believe it has. There is no ground for imagining that the Chamber has in any way resiled from its original pronouncement.

But what are the prospects, in a fleeting and temporary European community, of a political body which intends to base its future concerns on its past excesses ?

The writer has enjoyed the advantage of consulting some of the most thoughtful and responsible non-official Europeans, in and about Calcutta. Some of them think that the Europeans scattered about in isolated places naturally take stronger views against Indian usurpations, under encouragement from the Government, than do their countrymen grouped in large bodies in protected cities. Some intend to clear out of India as early as possible and do not care much what happens after they leave, so long as nothing disturbs their investments. Many fear that in yielding to Indian clamour, which has not been raised in the true interests of the voiceless masses, the Government has not acted with wisdom. Others declare that the mercantile and trading interests of India are those with which Europeans are chiefly concerned, and that men everywhere have sometimes to swallow distasteful pills; and that this kind of sacrifice must sometimes be made to a great common cause. Some agree that a powerful European association would be of great help to the State if its members could be counted upon to accept some safe and sensible view unanimously—as was not even done in the great Ilbert Bill agitation when, one rumour has it, a large body of planters and other irresponsible individuals came down to headquarters to oppose the famous “concordat” agreed to by the European Defence Association—but look on such unanimity as practically hopeless. How any society can exist; which claims universal support, in the absence of the universal agreement which most informed opinion has declared to be equally desirable and improbable, is one of those problems into the attempted solution of which inexperienced reformers may rush, without any recollection of past experience and any sense of future

*responsibility, but in the region occupied by which educated, informed, experienced, self-respecting and responsible persons will naturally fear to tread.

It has been stated, in the loose inconsequential kind of way in which such statements are usually made, that the teeth have been pulled out of merchants in India by the titles and decorations showered on friends of the Government at particular seasons. A private whip, said to have been sent round one of the Calcutta Clubs (shortly before or shortly after one of these periodical showers, which was heavier than usual during a Royal visit) urging friends to be loyal to the Government, may help to inflate rumours of this type for a season. But the bearing of any statement, supposing it to be true, on any particular issue in dispute, is one of those ingredients in a discussion which the average man in the street, or on a tumtum for that matter, rarely has the disposition, if he has the informed intelligence, to estimate fairly. Suppose this statement were correct, in what manner does the fact, of which it would then be an indication, tell on the chances of men, likely to get titles or decorations and the friends influenced by them, knocking under a popular agitation, and sacrificing their prospects of a title to the evanescent favour of a mob—a respectable mob it may be, but a mob for all that from the standpoint of public responsibility. Probably, or say even possibly, the wiser and more accurate view to take of the mentality of recipients of Government favours is that, having studied the careers of non-officials in official positions, and found them either influential among their fellows on account of marked personal qualities, or because they have, in pursuing their own interests, also served the State—for the larger interests of all classes and the State are identical—the State has considered

it either prudent or grateful to honour them. But whatever be the motive or the *arrière pensée* of the Government, what support are such influential and responsible persons, usually in good position in their own society, at all likely to give to popular movements engineered by interested parties flying banners of disinterested heroism, and maintained by excitements which notoriously die out in a few months, when subscriptions, however small, begin to be estimated in terms of the benefits received from them? For, say what armchair philosophers or stump orators may, the ruck of mankind, especially persons accustomed to sell things for more than they pay for them, generally measure obligations by this standard; and notable exceptions do not disprove the rule. The unreflecting public, lashed up into a state of excitement under a stimulus of brief potency, may overlook the contingencies that count in any large game intended to produce an effect and to last long. But though dash is a useful element in a forlorn hope, the unreflecting mood is not the one from which lasting triumphs issue, comparable with those issued from the brooding evil of premeditation inspired by insight and sustained by foresight.

HOTSPUR.

Art. III.—THE ROYAL VISIT.

A LAND-MARK IN RECENT INDIAN HISTORY.

THE Royal Visit and the Delhi Durbar of December 1911, will both be remembered in history for a long time to come as things altogether unique alike in their present significance and future import. The Sovereign of England had never before come to this country as its actual ruler ; so from the time when it was announced, more than a year ago, that His Majesty was to visit India a little after his Coronation at Westminster and announce in his august person to his Indian subjects the fact of his having formally assumed the rule over the vast empire under the sway of his house in succession to his father and grandmother of revered memory, people out here were impatiently waiting for the joyful event that was to come off at the end of the year. They were at last to see their Emperor in flesh and blood and, what was more, that Emperor was going to hold his imperial court at Delhi, the historic capital of the former emperors, and receive in person the dutiful homage of his chiefs and subjects. This was enough to fire the imagination of even a sluggish and dull race. But the Indians, though otherwise a rather unimaginative people, are very susceptible of sentiment with regard to their personal rulers, and are always very quick to respond when the right chord is touched in their hearts.

Whoever advised His Majesty to come out here as crowned ruler of India, showed himself a true statesman, a perfect master of statecraft in recognising

the real Indian character and what a part sentiment plays in swaying it. The general impression among the people is that King George needed no advice in this matter, and that the idea emanated spontaneously from himself and his royal consort, for during their previous tour in this country as Prince and Princess of Wales, they had travelled with their eyes wide open in every direction and gained a real insight into the character and sentiments of their future subjects which must have indicated unmistakeably to them the immense value of such a visit. King Edward VII. had also with his quick insight seen this value ; but the advanced age at which he came to the throne, and still more the weak health in which he then was, stood in the way of his undertaking such a momentous journey. His illustrious son was more fortunate in this matter, as he ascended the throne in the prime of manhood in full health and vigour.

The Indian people were also highly pleased with the steadfastness with which His Majesty clung to the idea when once it was taken. There were many circumstances to shake him in his resolution. All considerations arising from the political condition of the country, unrest, sedition and the like, for abandoning his visit, he had resolutely withstood from the commencement. There were many people here, especially among the Anglo-Indian and official classes, who shook their heads ominously at the idea of His Majesty coming out at such a juncture. But these good folks, however experienced they may be of Indian affairs, showed by their nervousness their ignorance of the real Indian character and of the well springs hidden deep down the Indian heart that move it. His Majesty when he unalterably resolved to trust

his august person and that of his beloved consort to his Indian subjects, knew far better than these nervous folks, who were far too much under the influence of the bogey of anarchism, sedition, and the rest. Not that His Majesty made light of these political dangers lurking in the country. But he showed his true insight, inherited from his father and strengthened by his experience of the people during his previous tour, when he refused resolutely to believe that these dangers arising from political unrest touched him personally.

The King is above all politics is no less a maxim with the Indian than with the English people, though the former are unconscious of it as a maxim of the constitution. With the English it has been the outcome of the slow growth of generations of strife and discord between the Crown and the people. With the Indians it is not so much a maxim as an instinct. Loyalty, personal unswerving devotion to the throne, is a deep instinct of the people embedded in their very nature. Politics have very little to do with it. They have been loyal and faithful to some of their worst rulers in past history. A mad and savage tyrant like Mahomed Tughlakh, who played several cruel pranks with his people, debased their currency, led them to certain destruction on a hopeless expedition against China, through the snowy defiles of the Himalayas where they perished miserably, who amused himself by hunting down with his army his innocent subjects like wild beasts, ruled over them for nearly a full generation and was allowed to die peacefully in bed. Even so shrewd a judge of the Indian character as Sleeman calls this strange. But it is really not strange to those who know how deep down in their nature is firmly embedded the loyalty of the Indians

unsophisticated by Western ideas and ideals, to their Sovereigns.

The King can do no wrong is again a maxim of slow and painful growth in the English Constitution. With the Indians it is not a growth at all, but an instinct handed down from their remotest ancestors. With them a divinity doth hedge in a king in all earnestness. Nearly all the gods that the Hindus worship at the present day once ruled over them as their kings. The reverence felt for their kings is very nearly akin to worship of their gods. There is a superstitious awe in their minds which forbids them even to think ill of their King. Even when the King does anything that does not commend itself to them, they only blame themselves, their own sad lot. The King's behests are accepted much as the decrees of fate, unalterable, inexorable, irresistible. This excessive and superstitious regard is hereditary in them from the earliest ages. New-fangled Western ideas have tended somewhat of late to disturb this simple honest notion of kingship, just as they have tended to shake their primitive conception of godship in kingship. But, thank Heaven, the vast mass of the population are as yet untainted by these exotic ideas imported from the West which are confined to a very narrow circle indeed.

The British Sovereign is the embodiment of the British Rule in India, and that Rule, the people here know very well, has done immense good to their country in various ways. The person of the British Sovereign then is sacrosanct to the Indian people in even a greater degree than the persons of their former sovereigns of other dynasties, who embodied less beneficent and sometimes positively harmful rules over them. Aurangzeb was disliked by all his numerous Hindu subjects and probably also by many others ; yet history does

not record a single attempt on his life emanating from these subjects during his long reign of well-nigh half a century. This almost blind devotion to their sovereign, whatever he be and whoever he be, is characteristic of the Indians, and is an asset whose full value some people have failed to realise. But King George has showed his true insight by recognising this deep loyal instinct of the Indians, and also his true statesmanship by taking this opportunity of coming here soon after his Coronation, and turning it to still further account in knitting his Indian subjects still closer to his throne and to the British Rule.

He knew that there was a certain amount of discontent among them primarily arising from natural causes like famine and plague recurring for a series of years, and also from some mistakes of the administrators chiefly arising out of the inability of the latter to enter into the minds of the people and to view measures from their point of view. The manner in which the King has adroitly utilised his visit in allaying this discontent and in setting the people right with their administrators in certain matters, marks him out as a Sovereign of consummate ability at the very threshold of his reign, and one from whose ripe statesmanship even greater good may confidently be expected to the empire at large in coming years.

The Indian people knew that their good name for loyalty had suffered somewhat in the eyes of some, both here and in England, owing to the misconduct of a few insane anarchists, and throughout the year they were fearful that the Royal visit might be put off or abandoned altogether. When the rains held back for several weeks during the latter part of the monsoon, fair grounds seemed to arise that their fears would prove true. But

they were overjoyed to find that the weather conditions had somewhat improved latterly, and that His Majesty's idea of coming out to their country was not to be put off on any account. They were eager for an opportunity of giving unmistakeable proof of their loyalty to the person of their Sovereign, and that opportunity at last came to them after much show of disappointment.

When Their Majesties came in their midst and landed in Bombay the pent up feelings of the people found vent in a way which appeared surprising to many who were not intimately acquainted with their sentiments. The enthusiasm evoked by the occasion was boundless, and though they had come here once before, only six short years previous and been welcomed joyfully, yet on this occasion of their entry as actual Sovereigns they were accorded a welcome which in its cordiality was simply unsurpassed by previous manifestations of joy and affection on the part of their Indian subjects. The welcome was all the more cordial, as the people wanted to show that the doubts that had arisen in some minds about the wisdom of Their Majesties coming in their midst just then were groundless. It is no use disguising the fact that in the eyes of many people, by no means unfriendly to the natives of this country, Indian loyalty had suffered somewhat on account of recent events fresh in everyone's mind. The Indian peoples themselves felt keenly the slur cast on them owing to the misdeeds of a few, and they availed themselves of the presence of their Sovereign to vindicate beyond the possibility of cavil their loyalty and devotion to the British Throne.

Bombay was merely the first by the accident of its situation to manifest this feeling of intense devotion that animates the people of India. From Bombay all along

to Delhi and Calcutta, wherever Their Majesties went, they were greeted with the like enthusiasm, which seemed well nigh inexhaustible, by their Indian subjects everywhere. The month of December will long live in the memory of the people of India as the carnival, of their loyalty to their beloved Sovereign and his consort. It will be all the more pleasantly remembered as it afforded them an opportunity of removing any doubt that might have arisen not unnaturally in the past years as to their genuine affection for the British Rule and British Throne.

This outburst of loyalty on the part of their Indian subjects met with an equally hearty response from the Sovereign, who with consummate tact has utilised what would otherwise have been but a passing show, however brilliant, for lasting purposes of state. The royal answers to the addresses of the people everywhere showed full well the deep sympathy which united King George and his royal consort with their Indian subjects and all their acts, great as well as little, while in India, were a vivid commentary on the sympathy which they proclaimed. The boons which were graciously granted at the Delhi Durbar, especially the munificent grant of half a crore for the education of the people, showed unmistakeably the deep regard for the true welfare of the Indians. That India is the brightest Jewel in the British crown has often been said, but never were the people of India themselves so well assured that this was indeed a fact, as during this memorable Royal visit, and then too by the words and deeds of their gracious Sovereign himself. The Royal visit has done a great deal to set Indian sentiment right with England and things English. India had and has many grievances to complain of and redress ; but since the visit of the

English Sovereign, she knows that she can rest quite assured that in the redress of these grievances at the hands of England, she has a most sympathetic and wholehearted advocate, of her real good in His Majesty, whose parting words of inspiriting advice, "Educate, United Hope," will for long reverberate in her ears. The Royal visit has succeeded beyond its most sanguine expectations so far. May it stand out in future years as a bright landmark, as an epoch commencing the era of peace and prosperity and contentment and, above all, of mutual good-will between England, her Empire and India !

R. P. KARKARIA.

Art. IV.—POST-MORTEM LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN BELIEF.

IN trying to find out the historic antiquity and originality of some of the beliefs of our Aryan ancestors, concerning life here and hereafter, it is well to take note of the notions which prevailed among the peoples of the Nile valley for at least two thousand years before our Aryan progenitors grew out of the nursery of lake-dwellings or learnt to cook their victuals for their precarious dinners.

A learned French scholar has recently given a very readable and excellent summary of the results achieved by Egyptology in piecing together from stone and papyrus the riddles read for the benefit of the twentieth-century reading public.

I therefore wish to place before your readers extracts from "*La Civilisation Pharaonique*," so that, peradventure, they might help the reflection of the student interested in this department of knowledge, here at home.

It will be found that much of what follows would not be intelligible without an introductory knowledge of the legend of Osiris. It is therefore necessary to give a short summary of the events of his life, as handed down by tradition, for the benefit of those of your readers who are not already familiar with this subject. For a detailed account the reader is requested to turn to the pages of Lempriere's Classical Dictionary.

Osiris was the great deity of the Egyptians. He was believed to have reigned as King of Egypt and done much to civilise the races not only of that country

but of a great part of the known world. He taught men, wherever he went, the rudiments of agriculture and the useful arts of life. He had two sisters, Nephthys and Isis, who were also his spouses. Isis, the younger, was the more handsome and undoubtedly the more attached of the two. He had a brother, Set or Typhon, who was wickedly disposed. On the return of Osiris from abroad, whither he had gone on a civilising and humanising mission, he found his subjects at home incited to sedition by his wicked brother. Set or Typhon finished up with the murder of his brother. Not content with this act, he cut the body of Osiris to pieces, which he distributed among the partners of his guilt.

According to Plutarch, Typhon shut up his brother in a coffer which he threw into the Nile. Isis recovered the body of her husband but Typhon stole it and divided it among his companions, as observed above. Isis revenged her husband's death, and, with her son Horus, she defeated Typhon and his party. She recovered the mangled pieces of her husband's body. They were supposed to have been buried in the several cantons of Egypt. Shrines were raised on the localities where the rites and cult of Osiris, the national god, were developed.

1.

The primitive legends handed down by tradition among the priestcraft of Egypt, regarding the future of the dead, gave work enough to the sacred chapter in devising explanations of a myth at once pantheistic and extremely complex. To the priests the idea of godhead had not, as yet, attained anything approaching distinctiveness or sharp definition. There was a vague notion of a mysterious power, regulating the course of all things

mundane, the chief characteristic of which was the principle of constant renovation by some hidden agency permeating the universe.

In a country like Egypt, where the vital phenomena of nature reproduce themselves with a cyclical exactitude, perfect in regularity, where the course of the sun is always equal, where the inundation of the river recurs year after year, exact to a day, it was not possible that any other notion should have sprung up. Every philosophical attempt to rationalise the myth would have a tendency to unravel it as symbolising the reproduction of the species and the almost daily renovations of external phenomena. Over and above all, the solar orb stood out as the embodiment of all these changes. It was therefore on him that the idea of god-head was fixed to the detriment of other elemental divinities.

बलुमखः—THE SIX-FACED ONE.

Amon, Aten, Horus, Ra, Khepra and Toun were no others than distinctive phases of the same sun-god, each having its special attributes. These several characters made up in total the course of the diurnal life of the sun. Each name is only an appellative of a particular stage of his daily march, Ra was no other than the hidden essence of the orb, the vivifying essence—the Sakti शक्तिः, the गायत्री—Aten was the disc—the चक्र, सूर्यमण्डल—the habitation of this life-giving essence. Shou was the luminosity. Horus, the Kumara, कुमारः—the Balu of Dravidian personal names. He was the sun at the rise. Toun was the sun as he went down the horizon at set.

The interpretation of the legend of Osiris by the sacred College was developed on this parallel and

explained it as the story of the death and resurrection of the sun. Rising in the east in the morning and climbing to the meridian at midday, he loses himself in the evening in the shades below the horizon.

The shades of darkness are the wicked powers and the mutilation of the body of Osiris and dispersion of the members thereof (see the legend of Dáksháyani in the Káliká Purana) is only a poetical metaphor representing the physical phenomenon, so prominent in Egypt of the twilight, where for a long time after the set of the sun, the sky in the west is ablaze with long, bright and red reflexes of the sinking solar orb. Isis represents the unknown region below the horizon, in which the god picks up the mutilated parts of his body, which are put together again to form Horus, the new sun and the avenger of his father.

It was to lift the veil from this mystery of the unknown region that the earliest efforts of the Egyptian theologians were directed. Once a basis had been obtained as above, they had little difficulty in filling up minor details. The sun who disappeared at this horizon, only to reappear on another, had perforce to travel through this unknown region and illumine another world. And this other world, what else should it be if not that of the dead? since, when the sun set on our horizon, he should himself be accounted among the dead. The topography of the Nile valley lent itself the more readily to the sense of this idea, as the solar orb was seen day after day, surging up from the crest of the mountains on the Arabian side and sinking down into the desert from the tops of the Libyan mountains on the other side of the valley.

Vanquished by night, Osiris, considered as one of the manifestations of Ra who had shone in the firmament

all day long, now takes the name of Osiris-Khent-Amenti or Osiris of the region of the west (हाटकेश्वरः). He is the nocturnal sun, the sun of the Inferum, traversing the immensity of space on the other side, to reappear to gladden the outer world on the morrow, under the name of his son Horus. This happy solution of the problem had a two-fold interest attaching to it. It explained at the same time not only the mystery of Osiris but the mystery of man's life and death as well, as the sequel will show.

The cosmic system of the Egyptians postulated three planes or regions. The Heavens, inhabited by the gods, स्वर्लोकः; the intermediate region (अन्तरिक्ष भुवर्लोकः) tenanted by the Doubles (of whom we shall speak hereafter), where the transmigrations were designed and worked out; the lowest, that of this habitable globe (भूलोकः). The inhabitants of the celestial region navigated their river, just as in the valley the Egyptian plied his boats on the Nile, but with a certain difference. At night-fall, the celestial Nile from on high loses itself in cataracts among the passes of the western chain of the mountains of the sky.—आकाशगंगा These rapids are navigable at all times and the divine fleet sails on these waters and by a long circuit passes into the interior hemisphere, that of the invisible world, from which no one has ever returned (पातालगंगा.).

II.

AND THIS WORLD, WHERE SHOULD IT BE?

For a long time it was thought that the Egyptians believed it to have been subterranean, that the sun at set passed under the ground and that, in one word, he revolved in a continuous circle. The texts, however, which are mostly in point, show that the belief was in

another way. The Libyan chain of mountains of the west marked the limit of the earth and the celestial river, after making for itself a passage through the rock, turned brusquely to descend and flow quite like the Nile towards the north. The celestial fleet pursued its course down the river hugging the western bank. The navigation lasted twelve hours ; after six of them, the fleet veered round, put to sail and retraced its course, but this time keeping close to the eastern bank and by degrees gained the base of the eastern range, over which Horus, the avenger of his father, remounted to the horizon. This course of life of every day, this eclipse every evening, this voyage every night, symbolised the life divine and by assimilation also the life human.

All the traditions which have gathered round the name of Osiris have here their place, and, because of his sufferings, the Good One (Osiris) was the better qualified to act as the guide and protector of the dear departed.

Before making his appearance in this world, man must have lived elsewhere just like the god and, when he dies, he returns to where he came from to live there his old life over again. His stay here is no more than a sojourn, a transient change of place, a mere chapter in the history of his life, every incident of which corresponds to some phase of the diurnal life of Osiris.

The birth of the individual is the same as the rise of the sun in the east. His existence here is the same as the diurnal course of the latter. The death of man the same as the disappearance of the god at nightfall. After death, the departed individuality is identified with Osiris ; like him the departed sinks into night from which he emerges to the experiences of another existence, the same as Horus unto a second morning.

This explanation of the principle of creation served also as the solution of the problem of human existence. The idea with its application was probably complex but certainly very logical, if one may say so. The first consideration which presents itself to the thinker is this. How does life associate itself with things animate of this earth? This question was answered by the parallel of the daily revolutions of phenomenal nature in which the sun played the principal rôle. Ra was for ever the mysterious first cause, always efflorescent, who, hidden in his disc, expands all growth of life in this world. A chain of unbroken continuity binds the earth to his unquenchable hearth.

परमाणवः—THE ELONGATION OF THE SINGLE.

The atoms of universal life come down the descending chain from the solar orb to quicken all creation here, human, animal or vegetable. At death and decomposition of these entities, those atoms, always impregnated with the seeds of life in themselves, mount up again by the ascending chain to the fountain-source from which they drew their being, from where Ra sends them down again to vivify new forms of life; and this process is repeated without end.

This cosmic theory was substantially the same as that propounded by Greek philosophers who drew their inspiration from the Pythagorean school and subsequently adopted by the thinkers of Alexandria. Grafted as this hypothesis was on the solar myth of Osiris, it necessarily led to some complication in its application to the human entity.

THE PROJECTION OF THE DOUBLE.

The Egyptian knew not only of a body and a spirit but of something else. Along with the body, he also

postulated the Kha, the psychic essence, the coloured projection of the individual, the Double or second form of self. • It was an impalpable and disembodied form more than the shadow but less than the reality.

This mysterious entity had its origin at the same time as the terrestrial being and it flew away also simultaneously to the home of the Doubles, the middle region, in which the great goddess Hathor presided. Here, establishing himself in his peculiar retreat, the Double started the government of the individual on the earth with whom he was connatural. The terrestrial had no thought word or act but what was originated and controlled by the mysterious influence of this Double, an influence at once so real and so potent that the human being served only the purpose of the mere instrumental agent of the controlling Double. Of the two elements named above the body and the spirit, or rather the spirits in the plural—for the texts furnish evidence of duplication—the Ba and the Rekhi—(the Pneuma of the Alexandrian philosophers) are the spiritual essence of the human being. Alongside of this spirit is placed the vital principle, the Khou, the luminous one which represents the particle of fire come down from the solar disc by the descending chain of atoms to illumine the body at birth. Neither of these items is so inseparably bound up with the other as to be one and indivisible with it, nor so independent as to subsist by itself without correlation. There is a separation at death ; the Khou, the atom of vitality goes back to the solar orb and is for ever separated from the being with whom it has parted company. The spirit—the Ba—that which is frequently seen in the ancient paintings in the form of a swallow with a human head—instructed in divers magic formulas and protected by quite an armour

of talismans manages to fly away to another land, the happy world of the other side.

The perishable element, the body, preserved by embalmment from corruption and decay, has to abide the finish of the perigrinations of this Ba, now identified with Osiris, and already treading its way through darkness and gloom, in order that it (this body) may be reunited to its Ba for a second life, just as Osiris puts together the members of his mutilated body for his own resurrection: and finally, the Double, that is the Kha, leaves his retreat above and comes down to take his place by the side of the mummy in the dismal solitude of the tomb. Like unto Osiris, the Double has to live his life in the habitations of the west, in the Libyan desert, on the other side of the hills. And, as the dead has invariably to follow the example of Osiris in going down the horizon of life, the idea grew up very naturally, of excavating the sepulchres of the dead in the mountains of the west, to deposit the mummies in the crypts there and to make believe that the vitalising essence that had tenanted the body previously now continued its existence in the mysterious regions of Amenti (the west).

III. THE LIFE BEYOND THE GRAVE.

It will be found that the fundamentals of this belief about the future of the dead were instrumental in devising a change in the method of sepulture. When we come to the period of historic Egypt we find systematic efforts made to preserve the body of the dead and to protect it by embalmment from corruption. When we examine, however, the burial of much earlier periods, that is the periods of the original inhabitants "and the followers of Horus" we find on the contrary that the style of interment was characteristically special.

The body is found placed lying on the side, the knees are doubled and brought up to rest on the abdomen and held in position by the wrists, with the chin closing on them, after the manner in which the Peruvian mummies are found to repose. In one of the hands is placed a small slab of schist, cut in lozenge form or in the form of a bird or some animal or as at times of a fish. This disposition has been named "the embryonic" and it is interpreted as suggesting the position at gestation of the fœtus, about to be delivered unto a second birth. Assuredly, the most natural for one who is to be ushered into existence in an unknown world.

Great was the astonishment, therefore, of the explorers when, subsequently, several other necropolises excavated presented to the view an entirely different type of sepulture, in which the body appeared to have been dismembered and cut up either simultaneously with death or later at the second interment. In the first case, the dismemberment should have taken place immediately after death; in the latter the body was first buried and after the tissue had disappeared in due course of decomposition, the skeleton was exhumed and the bones re-interred in the graves. At this operation it is conceivable that an effort was made to give the skeleton the "the position embryonic" so far as that was possible. But sometimes, the bones were found thrown together pell-mell and they may have comprised the remains of one individual or of more. Several suggestions have been made to account for this mode of burial. But they cannot be accepted, as being a great deal in advance of primitive thought. The simplest solution and what accords best with our knowledge of these people and their times is to see in this style of interment the rudiments of the Osirian myth.

The dismemberment is easily explained. It was one step towards the identification of the dead with Osiris, who, after his overthrow by his brother Set, was torn to pieces by him. With respect to the position embryonic, it is inspired by the same myth, for Osiris managed to reunite the defunct limbs and put himself into form and shape again. He was then reborn to illumine the invisible world, that of the west, in which direction the expiring sun disappeared every night. It is probable that, in a later age, this primitive practice was modified by the priest-hood, who came to regard this dismemberment with horror and revulsion as may be gathered from the Book of the Dead, and that the practice of embalming and consequent changes in the methods of sepulture were gradually brought into vogue. From the dawn of Egyptian history, we find that the tomb was made the location of the Double and the rites of interment were calculated to recall the memories of the funeral ceremonies inaugurated in honour of Osiris.

Isis and Nephtys, his two sisters, buried him and bemoaned his loss :—Cf. Siva's lament for Dākshāyani in the Kālikā Purāna. They established themselves in the minds of the masses as the divine undertakers and divine mourners. They were believed to render to every Osirian (and every dead man was identified with Osiris) the last rites and unctions which they had rendered unto their departed brother. Tradition located the sepulchre of Osiris at Abydos and usage decreed that every dead man must have his place by the side of the last resting place of the god, not indeed to rest there in peace but to be engaged to walk in the train of the god on the other side and to keep him company in the paths and bye-ways which he treaded.

The passage from this world to the other was not open from any geographical position in Egypt. It was not possible unless the dead passed the defile that Osiris had cleared, Rosta, the mouth of the gorge, the position of which was indicated by the celestial cataract of the river on high. It was an opening or cleavage in the rock, to the west of Abydos an hour's distance from the holy place.

But if the sepulture at this place was enjoined by dogma, it was hardly ever enforced in practice. The clergy, seasonably, found a way of getting over it by the invention of a convenient fiction. It was this: the defunct might be interred, it did not matter where, it was his Double that performed the journey, in the accomplishment of which the Double was actively assisted by a mimicry of the necessary means of transport. With their help and the potency of the prayers chanted at the burial service, it was believed that the voyage to the other world was successfully achieved. It can be easily perceived that the disposition of the last remains in the tomb must have been modified on the analogy of this fiction.

The tomb was the home of the Double and this Double, however shadowy his character, was yet an entity who had the same wants as the original individual. He required to be lodged and nourished. He needed to be clothed. For he would very soon start on the same round of occupations that had tasked the individual, in life. He lived in the midst of his family of the Doubles of his parents who had gone before him. For, be it noted, the region of Amenti—प्रेतलोकः—was peopled by evil spirits and horrible monsters—सन्तानुनारकाः—It was right therefore that he should be furnished with arms, offensive and defensive, and

be protected by talismans and amulets, by magic formulas and the mystic pass-words that would open and shut the gates for him. It rested on the piety and good sense of duty of the survivors to provide all the above for the Double, if they wished and cared that in the fulness of time the same attentions should be shown to them when their turn came to be served. The entire religion of the Double depended on the strict observance of the formulary of the ritual and had no association in the least with the idea of the merits or demerits of the life lived on this, or of rewards or penalties on the other, side of the grave. If the rites were rigorously observed the Double lived and lived happily.

This survival of the psychic personality, on which the good and bad of mundane experience had no influence whatever, was the sole spiritual belief of the premier dynasties. Down to the period of the Theban monarchy, the future lot of the good and the bad was precisely the same, provided the exequial rites were religiously observed. It was in this second period of history that the original idea of the future life, conserved till then with some modification, was supplemented by the dogma that transported the mundane activities of the departed man to the regions celestial. This premise being admitted, the complement of rewards and penalties in the future life followed as a necessary corollary.

IV.

While the Double continued to reside in the habitations of the west, the spirit was not left without work. Instructed by the magic formulas in all the secrets of the other world and preserved by talismans from all harm, the spirit passed through divers transformations in succession. When the idea of merits and demerits as

influencing future life and of recompenses and penalties awarded in proportion was superimposed, the belief gained ground that the spirit, at the death of the man, flew away to report himself before Osiris and his council of forty-two assessors.

His conscience, or rather his heart, to use the expression of the Book of the Dead, vouches for his conduct. But, in place of proclaiming his faults, he proceeds to protest his innocence with regard to trespasses he had not committed. The text of this negative confession is one of the best known. Every dead man took with him into the grave a copy of it. It is very curious in that it gives us an insight into the morals and manners of ancient Egypt with a precision perfect in detail. Thus runs the text :—" I have not defrauded my fellowmen. I have not oppressed the widow or the orphan. I have not borne false testimony in court. I have not tasked the labourer with more work than he could fairly accomplish in a day. I was not guilty of any bad faith. I did not withhold anything from the needy. I was not callous. I was not audacious. I did not cheat. I did nothing that was of an abomination unto the gods. I have not seduced the slave from his master. I have not inflamed anyone. I have not given my neighbour cause to weep. I have committed no slaughter. I have not compassed the death of a fellowman by treachery. I have not turned aside the offerings from the temples. I have not purloined the provisions or fillets of the dead. I have not supplied unwholesome grain. I have not altered the measures and weights. I did not encroach on my neighbour's lands. I have not chased the sacred animals from the herbages. I have not ensnared the sacred birds. I have not fished in the sacred ponds

I have not separated the bird from her mate in the season. I have not cut the water channel. I have not put out the sacred fire. I have not violated the law of offerings according to the cycle. I have not hindered the procession of the gods. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure."

The actions of the deponent were then weighed in the balance of the goddess of truth, Mat, and, according as they were approved good or bad, the jury condemned or absolved him. If found culpable, he was pushed down to the Inferum, where he was consigned to eternal gloom and the tender mercies of scorpions and serpents, from which, after a thousand and nameless torments, he expiates his sin only by utter annihilation

If found pure by the jury, he was not quite freed from tribulation yet. He was, however, privileged to acquire a superhuman knowledge. He could assume any divine form as his taste suggested or occasion prompted him. For instance, he might assume the form of the golden sparrow-hawk or the crested crane, of the scarabæus, of the swallow, of the adder or of the lotus. In spite of all this, the agency of evil was actively on the watch to throw obstacles in his way and to hinder his further march. It was therefore necessary, in order that he might surmount these obstacles, that he should identify himself with Osiris and receive at the hands of Isis and Nephthys the good offices by which they blessed their brother. Guided by Anubis, who in the form of the jackal is the guardian of the regions of the dead,—**अनुबिसुरः**—he is conducted to the celestial country. There he tills the soil and throws in his lot with the spirits there who are all worshippers of the sun. If he wished, he might escape from there, and come down to have a peep into

his tomb and, if he pleased, he might repose in the tranquillity of the eternal home of the Double. If he does come down like that, it is not a mere visit of ceremony to his companion of other days. In the tomb there is a book deposited in a chest which is a veritable guide for him, calculated to help him to learn the routes and pick his road in the new country. It is the Book of the Dead, comprising in its chapters a full description of all the localities which it would be necessary for him to pass, of all the routes he would have to traverse and the rites he would require to observe in order that he may not be deterred by accident or mishap. It is a sort of remembrancer and itinerary. If, in the domain of Amenti, some spirits are found distracted and forlorn, it is because they never cared to consult this book entombed with their remains.

The spirit, if he cares to revisit the sepulchral shrine, will find there the text of the affidavit which he has to verify before Osiris and the jury, the invocations he has to recite, the magic spells he has to utter, the mystic words with which the evil spirits have to be conjured to submission, the pæans of praise which have to be sung in honour of the god, a route map of the other world, an astronomical table depicting the state of the heavens hour after hour, with the rise and set of the stars duly noted and, finally, a brief note about the good offices he should perform and the honours he should do after he succeeded in surmounting all his difficulties.

V.

With the disappearance of the Thinite dynasty and the advent of the Memphite, a radical modification was introduced into the mode of sepulture which caused a considerable complication of funeral rites. Mummification took the place of the ancient rite of dismemberment,

and, if the latter was recalled to memory, it was mentioned with a feeling of horror. In this later period, the supreme care of the survivors was to take all precautions to preserve the body in its physical integrity from decay and corruption. The subsistence of the physical body was a *sine qua non* for the continuity of the spiritual life in the other world.

The constant care of the true believer was to provide an eternal home, realising the double condition of assuring to the physical body an indefinite conservation and to the Double a continued purveyance for his wants to enable him to subsist through the long cycles.

THE TOMBS OF MEMPHIS.

All the Memphite tombs are modelled on one and the same pattern. Each tomb comprises two distinct parts. One is the chapel or oratory. The other is the crypt. The chapel was the sitting room of the Double, the part of the sepulchre accessible from the other world where the mourners and the priests met together at the funeral and from time to time on the sacred days. The crypt or vault was his privy chamber, the vestibule so to speak of Amenti, the threshold of which no one dared to cross.

On the day of the funeral, the coffin which received the mummy was entrained to the entrance of the oratory. It was dressed without the portal; a sacrifice was offered and the priests proceeded with the supplementary ceremonies surrounded by the parents and the mourners. The coffin was next placed in the crypt, the entrance to which was then closed once and for ever. From that day forward, it depended on the piety of the survivors to provide for the subsistence of the Double, to provide offerings real or imitated either by depositing victuals in the chapel or the recitation of a prayer

calling on the god to provide for the Double. By reason of his tenuity of form and volatility of composition, the Double could pierce through the walls after the departure of the party and sit at the table undisturbed to his banquet.

The gate of the chapel faces the east, for it is through the portals of the east that the resuscitated Osirian has to make his second appearance, the same like the sun at rise. On the lintel runs an inscription giving the name of the departed, the prayer designed to be recited in his behoof and a list of the days consecrated to his cult by the customary ritual. On the doorposts are engraved the portrait of the dead, his name and title, including the designation of any office or function he had exercised in life. This inscription is something more than an ordinary epitaph. It is a declaration of his civic status, establishing his pedigree, the name forming a very important element of the description, to such degree that one not named was as hopelessly lost as he had never existed at all. The decoration of the interior of the chapel is extremely primitive. At the farthest end is erected a stèle of colossal proportions cut in the form of a false door strongly fortified. It is the exterior façade of the eternal dwelling, that is of the private apartment of the Double. This fictitious doorway is narrow and sunken. Over the upright posts a text repeats the name and title of the occupant, underneath his portrait. In front of this door a table of offerings is fixed in the ground, flanked with obelisks and petty altars, destined to receive the offerings made to the Double.

At the inception of this cult, it is probable that the offerings presented to the Double were renewed, if not every day, at all events, on sacred days. But at

length the manifold difficulties of this practice would appear to have suggested to the religious Egyptian the expedient of providing for the wants of the Double by a fictitious device. Now, the omnipotence of divinity was without limitations. What could it not provide for the accepted ones if properly invoked in that behalf? An obvious suggestion was therefore to substitute divine agency in place of human in provisioning the table of the Double. And the god thenceforward purveyed for the wants of the Double. To bring this about, it sufficed that the first passer-by should recite the prayer invoking the divine aid in this matter, and at once the table of the blessed one was richly supplied. Everyone was interested in the performance of this good office, for, should he not have the same kindness shown to him by another when his turn came to be served? In this way the spirit or more exactly the Double of the bread, of the viands, of the potations and of all the good things that regale the gods, materialise themselves in the other world for the due nourishment of the Double of the dead man. The subtle formalism of the fiction on which the doctrine of the Double was based enabled the Egyptian priests to refine the data and enlarge their application so as to include more of detail.

You see the walls covered with a variety of tableaux, representing in miniature the whole chapter of incidents relating to the phantasmal life of the Double in his second existence. The pictures are portraits of the deceased of the style found engraved on the uprights of the gateway and the ground of the stèle. They formed a multiplication of the likeness of the deceased and served, in case of the destruction or breakdown of the mummy, as substitutes for the same and as supports for

the Double. For, according to the prevalent beliefs, the resurrection of the dead was irreparably prevented by the destruction of the mummy, whether it was due to bad handiwork in embalmment or other causes.

In such cases the pictorial likeness served as a support and supplied the place of the non-existent mummy. This principle, once admitted, led to a multiplication of such imagery. In some cases as many as fourteen of these doubles have been counted. The reason is obvious. The greater the number of these portraits the more certain was the chance of the Kha finding a support for himself in case of necessity. The figures were therefore multiplied. They were painted; they were sculptured, at first in bas-relief then in wood or stone. And these images were theoretically charged with the transmission to the Double of the offerings, real or imitative, placed in the chapel by the priests or parents of the deceased. But these statuettes, by reason of the perishable material of which they were fashioned, were liable to destruction. They were therefore safely deposited in a small box or chest, hermetically sealed and often losing itself in the masonry.

One fiction leads to another and we find the entire funeral ritual outlined in design in the chapel. To give appearances a greater approximation to reality, the offerings mentioned in the prayer were painted on the walls. They were piled upon the altars done into shape, moulded in glass or cut in chalk or alabaster. Birds dressed for cuisine, haunches of beef, liver pies, hearts and heads of veal, whole baskets of fruit and beans, water-jugs, beer, wine and milk. The idea was that if the Double was satisfied with this fare he might choose to prepare for himself whatever he wanted. Accordingly, a clod of earth was placed close to the table and moulds o

every sort also in order that he might be enabled to prepare for himself all such delicacies as best suited his appetite and taste.

VI.

This method of providing for the creature comforts of the Double was no doubt a make-shift. But there was no need for it to have been otherwise, when the principal rite itself so essential to instal the Double in the new world was pared down to an illusion.

The reader will recollect that the first step in the march to the region of the dead by the Osirian was to take himself to Abydos.

We find that this was also achieved by pictograph.

Every evening the barque of Ra arrived at the termination of her course and let herself down the passages of the gorge with the whole *cortège* of luminous deities to plunge into the lower world. It was, therefore, very necessary that the Double of the departed man should remove himself thither. It is obvious that this journey could be accomplished easily only by water. The dead one, therefore, is often represented standing on the prow of his vessel, ordering about the disposition of his luggage.

Sometimes, however, the picture is varied and the mummy enclosed in the sarcophagus reposes under a catafalque surrounded by mourners and priests. Quite a little fleet of lighters is pictured sailing in the wake, laden with provisions and funereal furniture. As the vessels glide along, the sailors exchange compliments and good wishes for the successful termination of the voyage. "All well?" rings out the question. "All well, by the side of Osiris" is the response. In course of time the Egyptian was not content with painting the barque or engraving it on the walls. Soon enough

miniature boats were devised in wood and carefully locked up in chests with all the gear and tackle, the canopies, the mourners and the religious ministers. It was in this way then that the voyage of the Double to the other world was successfully accomplished and it did not signify where at all the body was interred in the valley.

To these pictures, to which the enterprise of early effort was confined, were added in a later age "motifs" calculated to trace the entire course that the offerings were supposed to take before they found their way to the table of the Double. Very early the custom had established itself for the nobility, during lifetime, to enter into bonded agreements with the sacred colleges, on terms and conditions by which the former entailed fixed revenues to such and such a temple or diocese and the latter were bound to arrange for the celebration of the funeral ceremonies and the yearly rites of the donor, according to intention, and for the recitation of the prayers required for assuring to the Double his daily supply of aliment. These lands were classed as assets of the department of the tombs. Out of this fund came the supply of bread and cakes for the Double, his fowls and fruit, his beans and wine, the linen for his vestments, the colr for his sandals, the wood for his furniture; in one word, everything that was needed to approvision and furnish the eternal home of the Double. Therefore, where the painter of the earlier period was content to show in outline the bread and cakes, the beef and the fowl and some fruit on the table, his successor applied his art to depict entire scenes of husbandry, agricultural and industrial. You see there, accordingly, the fields ploughed and sowed, the harvest gathered and thrashed, the rearing of

the cattle, the feeding of the fowls, and workmen in every line engaged in their labour. You see shoe-makers cutting and sewing the sandals, glassmakers blowing away at the fusing pasty, carpenters and cabinet-makers planing and shaping the sarcophagus, the bedstead and the tables of the Double, sculptors dressing and polishing the stone for the statues, copper-smiths, silver-smiths and armourers, modelling the posts, shaping the vases and fashioning the trinkets and forging the battle-axes and poniards.

You find there bakers and pastry-cooks with their ovens and kneading-troughs, butchers slaughtering and cutting the animals for the sacrifice, gardeners cultivating flowers and fruits. One and all of these are endowed with the same life as the Double. The portraiture is not so much of the assets of the department of the tombs as of the Doubles of such assets.

The servants and workmen shadowed on the walls are the Doubles of such servants. When the visitors retire from the chapel and there is nothing to disturb the solemn stillness, the Double comes out of his chamber to superintend the operations of the workmen just as it was his wont in life. At once the whole scene is very lively. Every shadow on the wall is animated as by magic, the workmen and their work. The pictures are quickened into life and do their best to win the approbation of their master who is looking on.

The Double takes his place by the side of his good woman, surrounded by his children and domestics, under the shade afforded by a light canopy erected in the middle of the garden. He feels that he is quite at home. The farm-servants depasture the cattle, pamper the birds and gather the vintage. He inhales the fragrance of the lotus, that emblem of life, and receives

bouquets of the same presented to him in compliment. The Double does not care to keep company with the spirit in the many peregrinations of the latter's career. He prefers a sedentary life in his mountain home, very like that of his by-gone days, and continues to take an un-failing interest in the same pursuits and delights. He is therefore pictured as pursuing the game in the desert or the swamps, inviting his friends to the lusty cheer, hearkening the music of the concert or regarding the rhythmic movement of the dance. The similitude of these environments is entirely of a piece with the phantasmal life of the master of this home. In this chapel, so decorated, the priest of the sacred chapter and the descendants of the deceased meet together on the days set apart for the ceremonies of the funeral cult. They are duly received by the dead one or, at least, his shadowy likeness, which is just as good. If this miniature has vanished, the visitors know that there are more supports enclosed in the wall to which the sacrifice could address itself. Often-times, it may happen that they are entirely lost to view in the brickwork, but there is a narrow aperture in the wall to mark the location. The prayers are recited into this orifice and the fumes of incense are wafted into it and both are believed to be passed on to the Double who has retired into his seclusion.

So far was this idea of veri-similitude pushed, that we often find, preserved in the caskets, little figures of wood or stone, of clay or lacquer in mummy form, carrying a mattock on one shoulder and a sack of grain thrown over the other. These are among the other supports of the Double, now identified with Osiris, cultivating the celestial soil. They are named Oushepti (sureties) in the texts.

VII.

In a later age their signification changed. They came to be regarded as no more than servitors of the dead man, praying and working for their master of other times. Let us look at the arrangement in the chapel. On the other side of the stèle designed as a false door, a cavity opens itself, the private apartment of the Double, designated in the ritual as the chamber of gold. One could descend into it. It is a vertical excavation in the native rock, faced with rubble or raw bricks. At the bottom opens a lobby, through which it is impossible to pass except on all fours. It leads to the funeral chamber, properly so called, of average dimensions. At the period of which we are speaking, the walls of the chamber were left without decorations. No inscriptions, no bas-relief, no paintings. Only the sarcophagus appears in the middle with a few jars placed around on the ground. We now know precisely the detail of the life led by the Double in his new home. It did not differ from that of the Egyptian squire, with his extensive demesnes and liegemen. He has his droves of cattle and his table is sumptuously provided. You are led to think that in those representations is comprised the biography in pictograph of the Double. For the name and designation of the dead one are mentioned, a painting of his likeness on earth, in all his opulence and grandeur appears. It should not be forgotten, however, that all this is meant for a representation of the ideal life to be lived in the outer world, the sincere aspiration of every Egyptian.

These paintings have been explained on the principle of mimetic magic, at the base of which is the notion that like produces like, the idea operating to generate the actual. This is about the most probable solution

that could be given of the belief underlying the religious thought of the ancient Egyptians in this matter.

When you see on the walls of the tomb the pictorial representation of a certain degree of opulence, you are not to understand by it that the deceased had enjoyed that opulence in life. It is really the riches he wishes to enjoy on the other side of the grave, what the survivors wish for him and what they expect their descendants to wish for them. The ultimate goal of the wishes of all was the dignified rest of the over-lord, retired into his grave, rich and puissant; and, if the same could not be attained by all, every one might at least hope for it. For, was not the life on the other side only a continuation of the present, with but a touch of idealism to relieve the distant prospect.

The stèle in the tomb, designed in the form of a false door, is covered with an inscription reciting an invocation to Anubis, (काबुमेरवः) the conductor of souls, the jackal guardian of the Infernal region. This god is required to provide a good tomb for the dead, in the great west and to pass on to him the offerings presented on the many sacred days. Other divinities are also mentioned, sometimes, Thoth and above all Khem the generative principle of Ra. This is all the evidence of dogma that one finds in the sepulchres of the period of the Memphite empire. In several chapels, besides you do not meet with any holy images or paintings of a religious act. But you see the depiction of some exequial rites rendered for the departed Osirian, without the addition of a ritualistic formula of adoration or oblation. In some chapels, the invocation, where it appears, is a conditional one. An oblation is presented to the god who is charged with providing for the Double the good things of which he may have need.

The supplication for a decent home for the Double in the west is not to be understood as bearing any reference to the terrestrial tomb but to an imaginary one in the new country, an ideal one which would be the double of that on the earth and in which the paintings traced on the walls of the earthly tomb would be materialised in realistic form through eternity.

In brief the life out there is to be exactly indetical with the one here, with all its felicity and more, but devoid of any religious or moral impulse. Nevertheless, the Double of the dead one is now accounted a divinity. He has his cult. He receives his sacrifices. There are priests appropriated to his service. And yet, the survivors have nothing to expect from him ; and in his turn, he exercises absolutely no influence on their wellbeing. All the above did not apply to the Pharaoh. For the king of the land was of divine extraction. He was the god incarnate in human form and, therefore, it followed that the close of his career could find no parallel in that of the ordinary mortals over whom he ruled. His remains were laid under a pyramid of varying proportions. And while the sepulchres of the other dead do not show any inscriptions, on the stones of the chamber in which the mummy of the Pharaoh reposes are inscribed whole chapters of a ritual which, having been transcribed on papyrus in later times, took the name of the Book of the Dead.

About sixty-six of these pyramids have been classified. The idea that dominated the construction of these huge fabrics was the same :—the preservation of the body from decay and destruction. Only, the architectural effort was proportioned to the rank of the monarch. And yet, there is nothing to be found in these piles to recall anything of mundane life, or to suggest

the idea of a continuity of the same into eternity. Some pyramids are quite bare of inscriptions or paintings; others introduce us to a world peopled by gods and goddesses, of friendly or hostile spirits and of horrifying monsters.

The son of Ra, the manifestation of Ra on earth, the king identified with the sun, dies like the sun, becomes one with Osiris and like him reappears in another incarnation.

The due performance of the sacred rites secured the recurrence of this eventful career, and his short stay on this planet is not to be regarded as anything more than a temporary sojourn on the part of Osiris.

VIII.

In a system of civilization so highly developed as that of the ancient Egyptians, the arts and sciences were bound to attain in the fulness of time a high degree of perfection. That this was so is placed beyond doubt, by an unusually plentiful harvest of documents. The evolution of the arts and literature was perceptibly manipulated by the religious beliefs, the theological concepts and cosmic notions of the people, engendered by the speciality of their climatic conditions and environments. Moulded and shaped by his surroundings, the plastic mind of the Egyptian lapsed into meditation and ecstasy and learnt to regard things mundane and the present life with indifference if not contempt.

The life here was nothing more than a period of tribulation, at the same time that the individual did not hold his conscience answerable for his errors of commission and omission, for they were controlled entirely by the mysterious agency of the Double hidden in his distant retreat of the Double world.

The part that the individual had to play according to the concatenation of his beliefs involved the notion of an existence from which good-humour and nonchalance were alike banished. Engrossed with the idea of the constant renovation of physical phenomena, he was led to reason out by parallel the mortification of his body and the regeneration of his own proper self. Here was the root of the idea of the Transmigration of souls. No wonder, therefore, that the arts which were nursed in the cradle of such beliefs bore in their stamp the features drawn from the parent source. When the aid of art was called in to give expression to the prevailing beliefs, it was at the very start charged with the realisation of a pensive theme or an established dogma. Here lay the secret of the extreme disdain for the things of this world which is apparent from the expression given to his creations by the primitive artist.

The human frame had no higher place in the cosmogony of the Egyptian than that of a mere support, a support perhaps the most wretched and debased of all, tenanted for a time by the psychic entity in the course of its migrations through the worlds: a perishable support that could be easily replaced by something looking like it, but more durable of wood or stone, that would equally serve the purposes of the Double, if only the shape and form were maintained to some degree of approximation, in likeness, however indefinite, to the original to which the Double was habituated. It might be imagined therefore that art should strive to make the imitation absolute. But the sequel will show, however, that in practice it turned out otherwise. At the moment of death the departed ceased to be of this earth. On the instant he became one with Osiris and his remains were of the god—*सिन्धुवायवयम्*. It was to this

deified body that the Double was destined to reattach himself. The effigy or picture which was provided in due course by Art, subsequent to the death, was the likeness not so much of the man as the Osirian. Primitive effort was actually conceived in the repudiation of the human likeness. The human form was condemned for adoption as being too low for approach to the divine.

When that the dogmas relative to life in the other world and the unification there of the disembodied personality with Osiris took consistent shape, the difficulty presented itself of originating a suggestive likeness. It was solved, however, by appropriating to this use the figures of mythic beings, till then considered to have been devoid of contours, whom the litanies describe as the gods who can change or multiply their forms indefinitely, whose names and births are equally a mystery. It did not at all follow, however, that the deified one should care to clothe himself again in human form. It should never be forgotten that the Egyptian was nothing if not a spiritualist. In identifying himself with Osiris, he did not lower the author of all good, but he elevated himself to the divinity of the other.

The human form was therefore not at all idealised in art. If the gods and the blessed ones had a vague consistency, that was yet enough to invest them with an individuality of some sort. The individuality of the sun was assumed at dawn for his diurnal progress across space and put aside in the evening on the instant of his re-entry into the celestial palace. The individuality of the chosen one was invested to start him on his peregrinations through the other world, at the close of which he should reappear before his prototype the sun when, after being absolved and approved, he was clothed with the essence of a higher spirituality and was at liberty

like the god to assume any form according to his inclination. He was not tied down to the human form. It was of no significance at his *début* into a new career. That form was the proper heritage of the prison house, the fetters of which he had only lately and successfully shaken off.

It is thus explained why the artist in his effort to portray the god did not idealise the human form but trusted to the suggestion of his fancy to devise something adequate to give expression to the radiance and majesty of divinity. When the ordinary outlines looked commonplace, the artist had of necessity to vary the natural proportions. The first tendency was to exaggerate, to paint a being of preternatural proportions. Hence the many colossal figures found in the tombs from the earliest period.

V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER.

Art. V.—HIGH PRICES IN INDIA.

“**T**HERE has been a strong movement among economists, businessmen, and others interested in economic investigation to secure the appointment of an International Commission to look into the cause for the high prices of the necessities of life. * * For some years past, the high and steadily increasing cost of living has been a matter of such great public concern that I deem it of great public interest that an International Conference be proposed at this time for the purpose of preparing plans, to be submitted to the various Governments, for an international enquiry into the high cost of living, its extent, causes, effects and possible remedies.”—*President Taft in the U.S. Congress.*

It goes without saying that prices of things in different countries are affected by different considerations and the conditions to which the rise in prices of certain goods of one country can be ascribed cannot be ascribed to the rise in prices of the same goods in another country. In fact, the conditions and the circumstances may be altogether different, but a brief glance at the state of affairs of some of the important countries of the world, would not be altogether unprofitable. Indeed, in view of the fact that prices have risen in almost all the countries of the world, there has been a proposal to hold an International Congress, an idea which has received the support of the leading economists of the day. We, therefore, propose to take a rapid sketch of the rise in prices of several countries before we take to the causes relating to the rise in prices in India.

In England, one of the features of the trade in the past years had been the movement of prices and it will be noticed in the following table that in several articles the rise has been quite out of proportion to requirements. The table shows the value of a few articles in 1909 and the value of the prices of 1908 :—

PRICES FOR SAME QUANTITIES.

Imports.	Actual price paid in 1909.	If values of 1908 had been in force.	Cost to English people.
Wheat ...	£45,286,000	£41,800,000	÷ £3,486,000
Bacon ...	£14,480,000	£11,778,000	+ £2,702,000
Eggs ...	£ 7,235,000	£ 6,986,000	÷ £ 249,000
Sugar (refined)	£12,633,000	£12,246,000	+ £ 387,000

Total net cost due to rise in price ... + £6,824,000.

The *Daily Graphic* in its issue of Saturday, dated the 8th January, 1910, commenting on the above table, observed that on only four articles, the Englishmen as consumers, had to pay nearly 7 millions net extra owing entirely to the rise in prices.

Let us then turn to France. The following report was submitted by Consul General Mason :—"A study of the comparative prices of most ordinary commodities of daily life at Paris, Marseilles, Bordeaux and other leading cities shows a remarkable uniformity between these different points, not only in respect to prices, but in the conditions of supply and demand by which market values are directly influenced. It is found that with the exception of a few articles the cost of the staple commodities has advanced more or less steadily since 1900, and careful Parisian housekeepers, who count

every centime of the daily cost of living, estimate the net aggregate advance at from 10 to 12 per cent."

Following are some of the wholesale prices in Paris. Those for 1900 and those for 1910 :—

Meats, fresh, in Carcasses.		1900.	1910.
Ox beef, 100 kilos	...	\$27'02	\$28'95
Veal	"	\$36'47	\$44'39
Mutton	"	\$37'82	\$44'39
Pork	"	\$21'23	\$19'30
Bacon	"	\$27'00	\$22'90
Butter	"	\$60'	\$65'
Wheat	"	\$ 3'86	\$ 4'67
Flour	"	\$ 5'04	\$ 6'51
Oats	"	\$ 3'52	\$ 3'62

In Vienna (*Austria*) in 1900 beef was 11 cents and in 1910 it rose to 13 cents. Wheat was \$1'55 and has risen to \$2'69. In Berlin (*Germany*) beef was 8 cents wholesale in 1900 and is now over 9 cents. Wheat sold at 98'5 cents, and it now at \$1'52. In Russia beef retailed for 8 cents per pound in 1900 and is now selling for 9 cents and wheat was 80 cents whole-sale and is now at \$1'07, while butter was sold at 20 cents, now sells at 23 cents.

Having taken a very brief survey of some of the states in Europe, we turn to India. It would be useless to quote figures from the *Ain-i-Akbari* or to refer to the circumstances which led a Governor of Bengal in the fag-end of the Moghal *régime* to close one of the gates of his capital and forbid re-opening it before rice should be so cheap as he had made it to be. It is, however, an incontrovertible fact that the rise in the prices of all

staple food crops as well as other commodities has been considerable and a marked one. The following tabular statement shows the average number of seers of food-grains sold per rupee in the quinquennium of 1861-65 with that in 1901-03 :—

Article.				Average number of seers for one rupee in 1861-65.	Average number of seers per rupee in 1901-03.
Rice	...	...	...	20'0	11'6
Wheat	...	...	...	22'4	14'5
Barley	...	...	...	36'6	21'9
Jowar	...	...	...	26'5	20'6
Bajra	...	...	...	24'8	19'1
Ragi	...	...	...	28'7	20'5
Gram	...	...	...	26'0	16'5
Average				26'4	17'8

The Blue Book called "The Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition" (1908-9) thus observes relating to the rise in prices :—"The rise in the prices of commodities in India during recent years has been the subject of much discussion." It then gives a table, which we reproduce below and makes the following pertinent remark : "Where wage-rates are more or less customary, or where incomes are more or less fixed, as in the case of pensioners, public and private employees, and the professional classes, the *increased cost of living is a serious matter.*"*

*The italics are ours. It is, of course, satisfactory to note that Government grants grain allowances to many of its officers and thereby gives relief to a number of people.

Year.			Index number for articles imported.	Index number for articles consumed or exported.	Index number of food grains (retail prices).
1873	...	...	100	100	100
1898	...	...	80	102	139
1899	...	...	87	100	137
1900	...	...	97	124	192
1901	...	...	96	116	157
1902	...	...	86	113	141
1903	...	...	88	103	126
1904	...	...	93	104	117
1905	...	...	96	117	147
1906	...	...	105	141	179
1907	...	...	116	148	180
1908	...	...	118	155	231

.. The table has been compiled from Government returns showing the index numbers of the prices of (a) 11 articles imported; (b) 28 articles consumed in India or exported; (c) food grains. The prices under (a) and (b) are wholesale and under (c) retail. The index number of each year represents a simple average of the separate price ratios of the selected articles. In showing the variations, the prices of 1873 are taken as 100. •

To what cause or causes is this rise due? We can classify the causes under two headings only. First, whether the present supply is equal to the demand and, secondly, whether the monetary policy or, rather, the currency policy of the Government has anything to do with the rise in prices?

At the outset we may say that the present supply is not equal to the present demand and this can be ascribed to four causes—

1. Law of diminishing return.
2. Increase of population.

3. Areas formerly under rice are now under non-food crops.
4. Export.

We shall take the points one by one.

The first is the Law of Diminishing Returns. India is an essentially agricultural country and here the additional doses of labour and capital yield a less proportion. As Mr. Gokhale observed in his Budget speech of 1906, "There is ample evidence to show that over the greater part of India—especially in the older provinces—the agricultural industry is in a state of deep depression. The exhaustion of the soil is fast proceeding, the cropping is becoming more and more inferior and the crop yield per acre, already the lowest in the world, is declining still further." The yield being less than what it was, the supply falls short of the demand and hence necessarily, there is the rise in prices. This is a cause attributable to nature and no one has any hand in it.

The second cause is the increase of population. With the increase of population there is an increase of demand for food supplies. The increase of population has grown to 53 per cent. since 1872. The Hon'ble Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.S., C.I.E., Census Commissioner for India, in a paper "The Indian Census" submitted to the Royal Society of Arts (published in its Journal Vol. LX., No. 3097, dated 29th March 1912) thus opined: "The population has grown by 53 per cent. since 1872. Part of this increase, however, is due to the inclusion of new areas and part to the greater accuracy of recent enumeration." The following statement shows, as far as can now be ascertained, how far it is attributable to these causes, and what the

actual growth of the population is believed to have been :—

PERIOD.	INCREASE DUE TO		Real increase of population.	Total.	Rate per cent. of real increase.
	Inclusion of new areas.	Improvement of method.			
	Millions.	Millions.	Millions.	Millions.	
1872-1881	33	12	3	48	1'5
1881-1891	55	3'5	25	34	98
1891-1901	2'5	2	4'3	7	1'5
1901-1911	1'5	...	19	20'5	6'4
TOTAL	45	157	1'3	109'5	19'3

The total population of India, as registered in the last census is 30 millions, a decided increase since the last census of 1901 was taken and this increase is one of the causes in the rise of prices.

The areas formerly under rice now under non-food crops is the third cause, under the first heading, to which can be attributed, to a slight degree, the recent rise in prices. It is an admitted fact that areas under Jute cultivation have increased, mainly for the reason that the raiyats get cash payments for jute, and although new lands have fallen under jute cultivation, there can be no denying the fact that some lands which were formerly under rice cultivation are now yielding jute.

The fourth cause is the excessive export of food materials. Mr. Saiyaid Ali Bahadur Bilgrami in an erudite article which he contributed to the *Muslim Review* (Vol. IV, Nos. 6 and 7) opined that "it is on no account due to excessive export that any rise has

taken place in prices of food grains." The statement is certainly a bit amusing, coming as it does from a gentleman of his standing, as nowadays, even a schoolboy reading in the matriculation classes knows well that "the dearth of food stuff in the country, caused by failure or excess of rain or other natural calamities, is aggravated by exports to foreign countries." ("England's Work in India" by the late Mr. Ghosh, a textbook for Matriculation candidates of the Calcutta University, page 76).

Take the case of rice. The demand for Indian rice in foreign countries has increased some five times during the last fifty years. The amount exported (in tons) in 1858-59 was 450,210 and that in 1905-06 was 21,519,000. Not only rice and its sister, wheat, but the exports of other food grains are also rising. In the "Review of the Trade of India" for 1904-05 and 1907-8, Mr. Robertson thus wrote :—

"The favorable harvests of recent years have caused a great expansion in the exports of food grains other than wheat and rice. The previous record of 1903-04 has now been exceeded by nearly 57 per cent., the total being 426,772 tons, value 290½ lakhs. Arranged according to multitude, pulse with 156,346 tons has increased by 44½ per cent.; jawar and bajra with 126,827 tons by 23 per cent.; gram with 38,865 tons by 113 per cent.; barley with 18,827 tons by 233 per cent. and other sorts with 86,707 tons by 131 per cent."

In reviewing the export trade of India in 1907-08, Mr. Cotton thus observed :—

"The food grains, other than rice and wheat, exported in 1907-08 increased by 53·1 per cent. or 1,702,818 cwt. The most striking increase was that of barley which rose by 1,131,678 cwt. or 303 per cent. to

1,637,745 cwt. Jawar and bajra increased by 345,811 cwt. or 44·3 per cent. to 1,125,993 cwt. Pulse which contracted by 48·6 per cent. to 1,097,945 cwt. in the previous year rose by 92,486 cwt. or 8·4 per cent. to 1,190,431 cwt. Other sorts including maize also increased by 25,553 cwt. or 38·3 per cent. to 102,297 cwt. and gram rose by 2,790 cwt. or 9 per cent. to 853,873 cwt."

Referring to this, Mr. Mukherj, a well-informed writer. writing in the *Hindusthan Review* thus opined :—

" From the above figures one may easily make out that the effective demand for our food grains in foreign countries has steadily been increasing. But the more the demand for the prime necessities of life increases, the more rapidly prices rise not in proportion to the actual demand, but in relation to the borrowing power of the customers. Our customers are the wealthy nations of the globe ; no wonder prices have been going up rapidly."

The Blue Book for 1910-11 showing the "Trade of India" gives the following figures, regarding the huge increases in Food and Drink. Articles of food and drink constitute some 27 per cent. of the total exports. They show an advance of Rs. 6·34 crores (£4,226,700) or 12·92 per cent. bringing the total value up to Rs. 55·37 crores (£36,913,300) as compared with Rs. 49·04 crores (£32,693,300) in 1909-10. Of this class rice represented 41·96 per cent. and stood at Rs. 23·23 crores (£15,486,700) as against Rs. 18·24 crores (£12,160,000) in 1909-10, the advance being Rs. 4·99 crores (£3,326,700) or 27·34 per cent. Wheat and wheat-flour at Rs. 13·59 crores (£9,060,000) showed an increase of Rs. 28·68 lakhs (£191,200) or 2·16 per cent. and represented 24·5 per cent.

of the total class. All other articles of food and drink marked increases. Tea rose by Rs. 70·9 lakhs (£472,700) to Rs. 12·42 crores (£8,280,000), coffee rose by Rs. 23·52 lakhs (£156,800) to Rs. 1·33 crores (£886,700), fruit and vegetables by Rs. 7·92 lakhs (£52,800) to Rs. 10·2 crores (£680,000).

It will be evident, therefore, that though export is not the main reason for the dearness of food articles, it cannot be denied that it is one of the reasons and that food grains should not be permitted to go out of the country as they have been doing so long.

We then turn to the monetary question. By the economic law, any increase in currency means lowering of its purchasing power. In India we have the silver standard, *i.e.*, silver is the metallic currency of India and in judging of the question or rather the bearing of money on prices, we are to see whether silver's purchasing power has increased or decreased. By the discovery of many gold mines and the demonetization of silver the value of silver decreased. Indeed, almost everywhere silver is losing its former position while gold is being adopted by many states.

Further, any increase in the quantity of money in circulation necessarily decreases its values and causes prices to rise. In India this has been the case to a certain extent. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in his Budget speech of 1908 observed that "the phenomenally heavy coinage of new rupees during the last few years by the Government has something to do with this general rise in prices." The Hon'ble Member computed that during the "last 10 years," the Government made a net addition to the stock of over 100 crores. And although, in fact, as stated by Sir Edward Baker, the net addition to the currency during this period was

some 82 crores of rupees, still it cannot be denied that redundancy of the rupee (in spite of the increase in trade) has diminished its value and enhanced prices. As the Rt. Hon'ble Henry Fawcet observed in the Parliamentary Budget Debate of 1873 "of the 172,500,500 of specie which has been poured into India during the last 11 years, a considerable proportion has of course been added to her circulation. This has naturally produced a rise in prices and a similar effect has followed the increase of the paper currency on its being made a legal tender. From the peculiar nature of the Indian trade it seems almost certain that this importation of specie will continue. This rise in prices will be assisted by the general rise in prices that is taking place throughout the world, which is due to a depreciation in the value of the precious metals, a fact now admitted by almost every financier and economist of eminence."

What Fawcet said some 35 years ago has now come to pass and the proposal of a congress or an international conference has been opportunely made. But the question, how far the Government of India will be able to participate in it, is one with which the present writer has no concern.

JOGINDRA NATH SAMADDAR.

HAZARIBAGH.

Art. VI.—THE TRUE METHOD OF EDUCATION.

THE two problems with which we are to deal are, first, the kind of knowledge to be pursued for the purpose of education; and secondly, what constitutes real education.

The knowledge pursued by the Schoolmen was useless for any practical purpose. Nice subtleties of discussion, fine distinctions, plays upon words, quibbles, etc., formed the bulk of their literature. Their sole object was to sharpen the intellect with useless or spurious knowledge. Their metaphysics were cobwebs, fine to look at, but unsubstantial and barren of any good results. Cleverness and ingenuity, not solidity and originality, were the natural outcome of such a system of training.

Far different was the method adopted by Bacon, the father of Inductive Philosophy. To ameliorate the condition of mankind, to minister to their pleasures and comforts, to alleviate their sufferings—these were the practical objects of pursuit. The object of science is the invention of arts and mechanical contrivances which may be turned to good account. Utility is the test of the value of knowledge.

Facts and phenomena are to be observed and experimented upon and accepted or rejected according to their fitness or otherwise to subserve some useful end. But, for the perfection of knowledge, the inductive and utilitarian method of Bacon ought to be supplemented by the Scottish and German deductive and transcendental methods. The highest abstract thought of modern times was attained in Germany in the great

philosophical movement from 1780 to 1830, from Kant to Hegel ; and the chief philosophical concern of the next half-century was to understand, appreciate and apply the German thought of that period. It developed itself in the following form :—(1) The process of generalisation of principles from scattered particulars. (2) Viewing things in their interaction upon and deviation from each other and as arising out of each other by operation of inherent organic laws. (3) The notion of evolution or development which had been applied in nearly all departments of thought by the Germans before it was successfully extended to natural history by Darwin. (4) The creation of or renovation of the particular positive sciences of language, mythology, criticism, aesthetics, theology, history and metaphysics. Renan in France and Carlyle in England have been interpreters of German thought to their respective countrymen. Carlyle's philosophy is a poetical phenomenalism of Kant, but rendered more sceptical and negative by elements in common with the later pantheistic speculation of Fichte, and approaching in Carlyle's more speculative moods to the dogmatic pantheism of Goethe and Schiller. The keynote of the system consists in looking upon the world of phenomena—the realities of positive science—as only the shadow and symbol the external vesture or garment of being, in itself inconceivable in terms of sense or experience.

Now, knowledge, either in the Baconian practical form or the Carlylian transcendental form, has grown to such an inexhaustible and vast volume or magnitude that the full lifetime of a man is not sufficient to enable him to obtain a thorough mastery over even a particular branch. Added to this, it has to be borne in mind that in this age of keen competition and formidable rivalry and the

consequent hard struggle for existence when every hour must sweat her sixty minutes to death, we cannot afford to be crammed with useless or spurious knowledge while there is so much really worth knowing, if we are not to be handicapped in the race of life.

According to Herbert Spencer, knowledge has a two-fold value—its value as discipline or mental training, and its value as positive acquisition. Our mental faculties are to be sharpened and a stock of knowledge is to be acquired which will stand us in good stead both in our dealings with the world and the particular chosen subject for which we have a peculiar aptitude. In order that these two objects may be accomplished thoroughly during the short career of general education, care should be taken that the subject of study chosen for the sake of the one should be subservient to the other also. After being grounded in general principles, the attention of the student should be confined to the study of his favourite subject. Anything not having a bearing upon the latter and which he has afterwards to forget or unlearn should be carefully eschewed in the former course of preliminary training.

Next, to proceed to the consideration of the second branch of the subject under enquiry—what constitutes real education.

The primary end of all real education is the perfect development of humanity or acquisition of wisdom. The most knowing or learned man is not necessarily the most learned or wise. The province of knowledge is to furnish our mind with materials of information, that of wisdom is to utilise or turn them to account. The one may be compared with the materials of a building, and the other with the architect using them for its

construction. The poet finely explains the difference between the two thus :—

Knowledge and Wisdom, far from being one,
Have oft times no connection. Wisdom dwells.
In head's replite with the thoughts of other men ;
Wisdom in minds attentive to their own
Knowledge, a rude unprofitable mass.
The mere materials with which Wisdom binds,
Till smoothed and squared and fitted to its place,
Does but encumber whom it seems to enrich.

The application of meditation both to study and observation is the best means of obtaining wisdom. Whether in the province of intellect or that of morals, its influence for good is vast. The marvellous productions of art and science are the combined results of knowledge and thought. What the digesting process is to food, reflection is to knowledge. As the one invigorates the body, the other endues the intellect with understanding and wisdom. Education does not mean simply the culture of the mind. It embraces the improvement of our physical, intellectual and moral or spiritual faculties in due proportions. Meditation has a large share in in enlightening our mind and soul. It unlocks the treasures of psychological and moral truths. It is the best safeguard against immorality and vice. It leads to the formation of good character which is the principal object of study.

The existing system of University education has a two-fold defect. It does not make adequate provision for moral training, and it tends to foster a spirit of cramming or mental subserviency. The Government of India some time ago issued circular orders on the subject of the moral training of students, laying down certain rules about the selection of ethical text-books,

discipline and inter-school regulations of transfer of students from one institution to another. These regulations do not appear to have produced the desired effect ; they have produced only one effect, *viz.*, the rigid realisation of fees and fines on occasions of transfer. It should be borne in mind that both as regards physical and moral training much depends upon the students themselves. As they cannot become good athletes without undergoing systematic physical exercises so their morals cannot be expected to be improved without their leading moral lives. Study of the rules of gymnasium and of morality is, no doubt, good in its way in furnishing our young men with knowledge of these subjects ; but their morals can no more be improved by the mere study of ethical text-books than a nation can be rendered virtuous by Act of Paliament.

The same observation applies to the matter of originality. It is more a personal than a transferred gift. It flies on its own wings and stands on its own legs. Genius is self-made. There are two kinds of intellect—Talent and Genius. The former is a reasoning, and discursive faculty which proceeds from particulars to generals and from generals to particulars step by step, by intermediate trains of reasoning furnishing data for the conclusions arrived at. The latter is a discerning, spontaneous, intuitive faculty which perceives at a glance the conclusions from the very beginning without the slow and plodding processes of reasoning. Thus, great mathematical minds like those of Newton or Euler disarmed the conclusions of Euclid from the beginning without intermediate trains of reasoning. In this way very importat truths have been discovered by the glances of genius, though such intuitive divinations remain as hypotheses until verified by logical demonstration—

a task often left by genius to others or to posterity. Experience has taught us that the guess of men of genius like Carlyle or Emerson has proved to be as certain truth as any established by demonstration. Although genius is mainly spontaneous, natural and self-begotten, yet there are certain conditions or favourable circumstances for its free and unfettered development. Among these, the principal elements are, liberty and absence of poverty. It is extremely doubtful whether genius like Milton and Shakespeare, Newton and Euler could have flourished in any other country than England the land of genuine freedom. It is alike impossible for the proud and rich to enter the Kingdom of Heaven and for the abject slave to breathe the pure atmosphere of liberty. This fact is clearly illustrated in the history of the Hindus. Their civilisation was unique in the world's history during the period of their supremacy and independence. It was the glorious epoch which produced such extraordinary geniuses as Manu and Yajuavalkya, Kalidasa and Bhavabhutikapila and Gautama, Argyabhatta and Bhaskar. Acharjya, Susruta and Chanakya.

How many instances of such genuine originality among the children of India as can match that of their illustrious forefathers can be pointed out either in the dark age of Mohammedan rule or the enlightened period of British administration? Absence of political liberty in full measure is the principal cause of their present degeneration and retrogression. Liberty is the best educator. Its atmosphere is pure and bracing through which the lark of genius soars high beyond the reach of the shafts of despotism and the clouds of ignorance and superstition. In order to prevent misconception of our views, it is necessary to add that by political liberty

we mean not the transfer of the supreme power to the people of India and the withdrawal of the British rulers, bag and baggage, therefrom but the enjoyment of rights and privileges by the Indians equally with all His Majesty's subjects subject to the control and guidance of His representatives. The poverty of India stands as much in the way of the growth of Indian genius as the absence of self-Government in the Empire. On a calm and comprehensive survey of the economic situation in India, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that in spite of all the benevolent intentions of Government, in spite of railways and canals and in spite, too, of growing trade and agriculture the country is getting day by day poorer in material wealth as well as weaker in productive capacity and energy. There is not a country so poor as this dependency of Great Britain. In justice to Government, it should be remarked that it is not alone responsible for Indian poverty. The general ignorance of the masses notably their want of technical knowledge, the want of enterprising spirit in the middle classes, their preference of the learned professions which have ceased to be lucrative by reason of overcrowding and keen competition and of Government service the scope of which is too limited to afford employment to more than a few, to occupations connected with the agricultural and manufacturing industries of India, their habits of extravagance on occasions of domestic ceremonies such as marriage, sradh, etc., the averseness of the upper and well-to-do class to employ their capital for the development of the local industries of India, to these and similar other causes is mainly due the poverty of the people. No doubt philosophers and poets have painted in glowing colours the sweet uses

of adversity and poverty, and instances are not wanting showing the rise of genius from obscurity and misery. But these are exceptions to the general rule that "chill penury represses the noble rage and freezes the genial current of the soul."

• The conclusions, then, of a successful system of education should be (1) a general preliminary training for sharpening the intellect; and (2) a choice of a subject for which the student has peculiar aptitude. The primary end of all education is the attainment of wisdom and the development of originality. This cannot be achieved by only storing the mind with a complement of truths but it should be taught to energise.

K. C. KANJILAL, B. L.

• CALCUTTA.

Art. VII.—SOME GUIDES TO LITERATURE.

"Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed and some few to be chewed and digested."—*Bacon*.

IT was Carlyle, we believe, who said that the true university is a collection of books. The library, which has well been called the people's university, was originally a storehouse of books for the learned, a museum of literary rarities or an appendage of some scholastic foundation. Although occasionally resorted to by students under the direction of their tutors, scholars alone used it for purposes of research. The public library of to-day, however, exists primarily for the unlearned person who is neither a scholar nor a student working under the supervision of his tutor. He knows the mechanical elements of reading, but not the methods of selection and co-ordination. In other words, he has "acquired the tool but not the art." The vast amount of literature that floods the market at the present day necessitates a discriminating selection and, unless he has some sort of aid to guide him, the variety and wealth of a large library would only confuse him and drive him into mistaken paths. Of course there is the librarian who can help him with his personal advice, but the librarian cannot perform the duties of a tutor, who is essentially a specialist and knows how far one book is needed as a corrective to another. Moreover, forgetting that the librarian pretends to no superior knowledge of the science when he proffers information about books, some readers may resent his assistance and go on devoting themselves

obstinately to third-rate, obsolete and sometimes excellent but quite unsuitable books ! Nor, when accepted, is this the best kind of aid, for, to work one's way through a strange country by the map will certainly give him a better knowledge of the locality than to have the turnings pointed out by passers-by. Guide-books, the compilation of which is largely a modern conception, meet this want to a certain extent. These may be of four kinds : annotated catalogues of individual libraries, descriptive bibliographies, graduated courses of reading, and books of practical advice on methods of study. We shall endeavour to notice some of the more important of the last three kinds.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

On general literature there is Professor A. H. D. Acland's *A Guide to the Choice of Books* (London, 1891). This is arranged alphabetically according to subjects and is useful in tracing the older standard books. Its utility, however, would perhaps be enhanced if it covered a wider area, and if there were more hints on method, more suggestions about particular books and more courses of reading for the learner. W. H. Davenport Adams's *Plain Living and High Thinking* (London, 1880) contains much sagacious advice as also selected courses of reading on different subjects with concise notes on the characteristics of every book suggested, but the arrangement is defective. A pretentious literary dictionary and not altogether an accurate one is S. A. Allibone's *Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*. The work was projected in 1850 and the last proof-sheets were read by the author on the last day of 1870. It was published by Messrs. Lippincott of Philadelphia,

in three large volumes, and a Supplement, in two volumes, by J. F. Kirk, appeared in 1891. Living authors are also included, and to all books of importance are appended illustrative quotations from critical reviews. The titles have been largely taken from Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, and there is a conspicuous inequality of treatment as well as a few blunders. The Supplement, however, is more accurate. James Baldwin's *Book-Lover : A Guide to the Best Reading* was originally published in 1885 (Chicago) and contains several courses of reading with useful lists of books. It is written in a more pleasantly literary tone than the ordinary run of guide-books. *The Small Library : A Guide to the Collection and Care of Books* by James Duff Brown (London, 1907) contains a list of the best authors in all the principal subjects. Only authors' names are given with references to books in which full information may be found. J. C. Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire et de l'amateur de livres* was originally published in three volumes (Paris, 1810.) It has since reached the fifth edition in five volumes (Paris, 1860-65) and has been furnished with a Supplement, in two volumes, by G. Brunet and P. Deschamps (1878-80.) The work is arranged under authors' names with a classified and topical index. It gives full descriptions of only the best editions and, though considerably out of date, is one of the best guides to general literature. John Hill Burton's *The Book-Hunter*, originally published in Edinburgh in 1863 and re-issued in various editions, is a delightfully readable essay giving a deal of information on various subjects. *The A. L. A. Catalogue, 8,000 volumes for a Popular Library, with Notes* (Washington, 1904) is a revised and extended edition of the catalogue of 5,000 volumes

issued in 1893 and contains a selection, from the American point of view, of the best 8,000 books. The entries are annotated and arranged under classified subject-headings, as also alphabetically by authors. There is a useful selected list of public documents. *Treſor de livres rares et prſcieux, ou nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique, contenant plus de 100,000 articles de livres* by J. G. T. Graesse (7 volumes, Dresden, 1859-69) is a valuable work on the lines of Brunet above noticed. The first edition of W. T. Lowndes's *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, published by Pickering, appeared in 1834. Lowndes afterwards became cataloguer to H. G. Bohn, the well-known bookseller and publisher. Bohn purchased the copyright and, in 1857, began re-editing the *Manual*. The new edition, revised and improved, was completed and published by Bell, in six volumes, in 1864. The titles of books are arranged under their authors' names with some regard to their intrinsic interest. The work is useful for the approximate prices it gives and contains many interesting descriptions as well as bibliographical annotations. In the appendix is given a list of works printed by literary societies. L. Magnus's *How to read English Literature* (2 vols., 1906) is an interesting commentary on certain aspects of English literature from Chaucer to Meredith, but seems to be wanting in method. *The Library of Literary Criticism of English and American Authors*, edited by C. W. Moulton (8 vols., New York, 1901-4), gives a survey of English and American literature arranged chronologically. Under each author cited there are given one or more general bibliographical and introductory selections, followed by various critical appreciations on the author's works as a whole and upon individual

examples. *The Best Reading : Hints on Selection of Books* in four series, by F. B. Perkins and L. E. Jones (Boston, 1872-95) gives a series of classified lists now somewhat out of date. While John Power's *A Handy Book about Books* (London, 1870) contains a collection of miscellaneous bibliographical facts, including a list of bibliographies, a chronological table of historical typography and a dictionary of bibliographical terms. Power's work, however, seems to be inaccurate in matters of detail. A useful and reliable guide is John M. Robertson's *Courses of Study* (Rationalist Press, London, 1904). It is arranged in a series of descriptive courses of reading with indexes of authors and subjects. Lists of books on all subjects, however, are not given, its aim being "simply to assist private students to acquire knowledge in all the main branches of liberal culture." A new and revised edition appeared in 1908. *A Guide Book to Books* by E. B. Sargant and B. Whishaw (London, 1891) arranged on the dictionary plan, is more a catalogue of a wisely selected library and does not help readers to widen and systematise their studies by moving on to allied subjects. An exhaustive work, classified according to subjects with author, title and subject-indexes, is W. Swan Sonnenschein's *The 'Best Books : a Reader's Guide to the Choice of the best available Books* (London, 1887 : second edition, 1891 : re-issued in 1891, 1894 and 1901 : new edition 1910, etc.). Mr. Sonnenschein has issued a supplement to it under the name of *The Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literature* (London 1895 : re-issued in 1901). The more important works are marked with asterisks, but the book, besides being expensive, is suited more to the librarian and the advanced student and appears too voluminous and complicated for the beginner. Its precursor and one of

the earliest modern examples of the guide properly so called, is a trade annotation by a bookseller named William Goodhugh, who published his *English Gentleman's Library Manual* in 1827. It is a classified list with introductory notes on each section and historical and critical annotations by the author or quoted from reviews. Stein's *Manuel de bibliographie générale* (Paris, 1898) is a selective rather than comprehensive work giving a classified series of bibliographies on all important subjects. It includes a bibliographical gazetteer and a classified list of the principal periodicals. Deficient on the English side, it is rather unequal in its plan and execution and has no author or title index. Lists intended to supplement it are published in the *Library Association Record*.

INDUSTRIAL ARTS.

Now to pass on to guide books for special departments of literature. For the industrial arts, for example, we have Edgar Greenwood's *Classified Guide to Technical and Commercial Books* (London, 1904), but this is only a list of books arranged under different subjects without any hint as to their relative value.

FINE ARTS.

For the Fine Arts there is the *Annotated Bibliography* by Russel Sturgis and E. Krehbiel edited by George Iles (Boston, 1897). This is a select list, with annotations explaining the principles of æsthetic doctrine, of the best 1,000 books. An improvement on this work is Gayley and Scott's *Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism* (1901).

CLASSICAL WORKS.

J. B. Mayor's *Guide to the Choice of Classical Books* (2 vols., London, 1885-96) is a good work on the subject.

SOCIOLOGY.

The best general bibliography on Sociology is R. R. Bowker and George Iles's *Reader's Guide in Economic and Political Science* (New York, 1891). This is a classified list with notes, of English, American, French and German works, and gives a series of courses of reading.

ESSAYS.

An Index to General Literature edited by W. I. Fletcher (Boston, 1893) gives references to parts of books, essays, book chapters, etc., dealing with special subjects, and has been brought up to the year 1904 by annual supplements entitled the *Annual Literary Index*, which again is continued up to date under the name of the *Annual Library Index*.

FICTION.

An annotated list of British and American works of fiction, including translations of foreign works into English, is E. A. Baker's *Descriptive Guide to the Best Fiction* (London, 1903). It has an appendix on historical fiction—a subject dealt with by the same author in a separate work, in two volumes, entitled *History in Fiction* (London, 1907). Jonathan Nield's *Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales* (London, 1902) is a handy work and is useful for turning up quickly the period, locality of story and the historical personages introduced. Revised editions were issued in 1904 and 1911.

HISTORY.

In the domain of history the best general guide is Charles K. Adams's *Manual of Historical Literature* (third edition, New York, 1903). It gives a critical account of all the best historical works in English, French,

and German arranged under countries and provided with a full index, besides suggestions under each country. Charles Gross's *Sources and Literature of English History from the earliest times to about 1485* (London, 1900) is a critical and analytical guide to British history arranged in four main divisions of which the first is a classified list of general authorities for the period embraced in the volume. Each division is sub-divided into twelve chapters and again into seventy-two sections, the whole comprising 3,234 references with index and appendices. A comparison of the chief works and authorities in general annotation precedes each section. *Manuel de bibliographie historique* by C. V. Langlois (Paris, 1901), originally published in 1896, gives a careful, systematic and critical account of the chief bibliographical works of authority. An exhaustive and annotated work on American history representing an enormous amount of condensed knowledge and criticism is *The Literature of American History* edited by J. N. Larned (Boston, 1902).

PERIODICALS.

The contents of the more important periodicals from the year 1802 to 1881, with five-yearly supplements up to 1907, have been indexed by W. F. Poole and W. I. Fletcher. The *Review of Reviews* issued an annual index to periodicals from the year 1890 to 1902. As distinguished from the indexes to articles contained in periodicals we have a guide to the periodicals themselves in J. D. Brown's *Classified List of Current Periodicals: a Guide to the Selection of Magazine Literature*. (London, 1904), which is designed to assist in the selection of periodicals in general, while technical periodicals from 1665 to 1882 have been collected

together by H. C. Bolton in his *Catalogue of Technical Periodicals* (Washington, 1887).

WORKS OF REFERENCE.

As to reference books the best handbook is perhaps Alice B. Kroeger's classified and annotated *Guide to the Study and Use of Reference Books*. Though rather American in its selection, it contains a good number of British publications. A second edition, including more reference books and an index of twenty-seven pages in triple columns, was published in 1908. The Library Association* has been publishing annually a Class List of Best Books. Older works may be traced in the British Museum *List of Books of Reference in the Reading-Room* (London, 1889. Fourth edition, 2 vols., 1910). Pitman's *Where to Look* is a convenient guide to the contents of annuals and similar periodical publications.

TRADE BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

Nor should mention of some of the trade bibliographies be neglected. For English books we have almost a continuous record from the year 1595 when a *Catalogue of English Printed Books* was published by A. Maunsell. This was followed by Jaggard's *Catalogue of English Bookes* (1618-19) which again was supplemented by a *Catalogue of Certaine Books* (1626-31). Then appeared a *Catalogue of the most Vendible Books in England* by W. London (1658-60). Robert Clavell published his *Term Catalogues* yearly from 1666 to 1709. There were also a *General Catalogue of Books printed in England*, 1666-95, and a *General Catalogue of Books in all Languages*, 1700-86 (Bent: London, 1786). These again have been supplemented by various issues down to 1839 as the *London Catalogue*

and continued by Hodgson from 1814-55. From 1837 to 1852 was published the *British Catalogue* by Low, and the same publisher has issued the present *English Catalogue of Books* with its various cumulative and other indexes from 1835 to date. These, as may easily be inferred, do not afford any hint as to the relative values of books, but show what books have been published in England by the larger firms, the publications of the less known publishers being constantly omitted. A note on the past and present of the *English Catalogue* will be found in the issue for 1907. It should, however, be remembered that the published prices of old books are now comparatively useless. For really reliable standards of prices one must look to those annually given in such compilations as the *Book Prices Current* which is a record of the prices at which books have been sold at auction from 1888 to date. An index to the work is issued every ten years. The *Reference Catalogue of Current Literature* has been issued by Whitaker every few—about six—years since 1874. It is a collection of the catalogues of the principal publishers bound together with an author, title and subject-index in one alphabet. Consisting as it does only of books which are still in print, it is useful in shewing what literature on a subject is in the current market. The corresponding American publication is the *Publishers' Trade-List Annual* which, however, has no index, while for France and Germany we have Lorenz's *Catalogue de la librairie française* from 1840 and Hinrich's *Bucher Katalog* from 1856, respectively.

LIBRARY CATALOGUES.

The catalogues of some of the more important libraries also render help to a large extent. Fortescue's

five volumes of *Subject-Index of the Modern Works added to the Library of the British Museum* (1881-1910) and Wright's *Subject-Index of the London Library* (1909) are excellent guides to modern literature. It is to be hoped that all the large libraries will, at no distant date, furnish their catalogues with adequate annotations, like the *Classified Catalogue of the Carnegie Library at Pittsburgh* (5 vols., 1907-8)—which is an excellent descriptive guide to American literature—and the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bishopsgate Institute* by C. W. F. Goss (1901).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES.

Works like the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Green's *History of the English People* and Brewer's *Handbook* contain valuable bibliographies. Of the various national bibliographies Courtenay's work has been described as complete and exact. Among bibliographical dictionaries we have, of course, Adam Clarke's and Robert Watt's. A word as to the latter compiler. Robert Watt was a poor surgeon of Paisley, who sacrificed twenty years of arduous labour in compiling the *Bibliotheca Britannica*. It is an elaborate catalogue, in no way critical, mainly of British, literature, though a few foreign works are included, arranged in two indexes—one of authors' names and the other of titles of books. The index of authors is really little more than a magnified bookseller's catalogue, and the author's predilection for science led him, not always wisely, to supply separately the titles of all papers contributed to transactions of scientific society. The history of the work is full of a series of disasters. The author died when the printing of the MS. had just begun. His two sons undertook to see the work

through the press and one of them died while most of the sheets were yet in proof. A portion of the MS. was then burnt by burglars, but the surviving son managed to repair the damage, saw the whole in type and sold the copies and all his rights in them to Archibald Constable and Co., the Edinburgh publishers, and Sir Walter Scott's partners. He received in payment bills of the nominal value of £2,000, but when the bills fell due they were dishonoured. Neither the author nor his family thus received a single penny in exchange for their self-denying industry and Watt's last surviving daughter died in a Glasgow workhouse! It is nearly ninety years since the last part of Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* was published, but the fact that it now fetches from £6 to £8 when it figures in public sales, is proof that it has at length achieved public estimation.

JUVENILE WORKS.

It only remains to be added that children and women will find good guides in John F. Sargent's *Reading for the Young* (Boston, 1890, supplement, 1896), C. M. Hewin's *Books for Boys and Girls* (1897) and A. H. Leypoldt and G. Iles's *List of Books for Girls and Women and their Clubs* (Boston, 1895). The last contains 2,100 entries, embracing the principal departments of literature and science and dealing at considerable length with fiction. The notes are businesslike characterisations of the books from the standpoint of a kind and intelligent teacher, and are at once descriptive and critical and accompanied by tactful hints as to methods of study with warnings against pitfalls.

E. W. MADGE and K. N. DHAR, M.A.

Art. VIII.—THE MUGGUR OF THE SUNDARBANS.

(*Crocodilus biporcatus*). Vernac. *Kumir*.

THIS great saurian is found in all streams of the Sundarbans and is of the blunt-nosed type which usually inhabit salt water regions. The fish-eating crocodile, having a long nose, remains in fresh water rivers and is not seen in the Sundarbans. People, both in speaking and writing, often call the crocodile an alligator. The fact is that the alligator is a wholly different animal which is found in America.

During the months of October to March, when the weather is cool, crocodiles of all sizes may be seen lying on the banks of streams at time of ebb tide obtaining heat from the sun. Some of them face the sun with their mouths wide open to allow the heat to enter within them.

These monsters breed between the months of March and May. The female lays her eggs on land. She is careful in selecting the spot and softens it with tender twigs, leaves and grass. The nest is generally near the bank of a narrow stream along which she may pass in and out without difficulty. The number of eggs which a crocodile usually lays is between 40 and 80. In colour the eggs are a creamy white. In size they are about as large as the egg of an ostrich. As soon as laid, the female crocodile covers the eggs with grass and leaves to keep them warm and she also remains near them to supply warmth from her body and to watch them. She jealously guards the eggs while hatching and also the young crocodiles until they are able to slip into the water and look after themselves.

During this period she is extremely ferocious and refuses to permit anything to approach her. The male crocodile, being in the habit of eating the eggs and also the young, is kept off by the female and never attempts to get anywhere near them while she is present. The eggs are hatched in about a month from the time they are laid and the young ones appear during the months of April to June. In a few hours they are able to slip into the water where they obtain a living for themselves and probably never again have anything to do with the parents. A full grown crocodile is usually about 12 to 16 feet in length; but not infrequently they attain a length of 18 to 20 feet.

Crocodiles are useful as scavengers of the streams they inhabit. Their principal food consists of fish, of which they have an abundant supply at all times; but they also feed on carcasses of animals and on corpses, and the desire to obtain animal food makes the large and bolder ones a menace to domestic animals and man. They often become extremely daring and at such times are a terror wherever seen. They are dangerous in the Pussur river of the Khulna district and in most of the streams of the Backergunge portion of the Sundarbans. In the vicinity of Saugor Island they become active during the month of January, when the Gunga-Saugor bathing festival takes place, and cause alarm and anxiety among the thousands of women and other pilgrims who visit the island for the purpose of bathing at the place where the Hooghly river (a branch of the Ganges which is sacred to Hindus) falls into the Bay of Bengal, and where the mythical saint Kapil Muni is said to have dwelt.

In some parts of the Sundarbans these monsters have been known to follow boats for long distances and

even to attack and overturn small ones with a stroke of their tail for the purpose of securing the occupants. They have been seen floating on the surface of the water and coming within a few feet of a steamer when going at full speed. When moving about, the only portions of the reptile visible are the top of the head and a part of the dorsal crest, the body being submerged to the level of the eyes. The crocodile stares with a disgusting leer along the surface of the water.

Not infrequently the larger and bolder ones go ashore, under cover of darkness, and seize and carry off domestic animals, either goats or young cattle. Their plan of securing prey is ingenious. They lie in wait near bathing-places for anything that might approach the edge of the water, dog, cattle, goat or man. They creep up towards the object and as soon as within striking distance, a single stroke of the tail is sufficient to knock over a quiet unsuspecting creature. The monster then seizes the fallen animal between its jaws and carries it off below the water where it is kept in some convenient hole or under a fallen tree. As a meal is wanted the crocodile tears up the animal, piece by piece, tosses each bit into the air and hops it into its mouth. Having no tongue and being unable to chew, the pieces are simply gulped down one after the other.

Crocodiles have been known to attack the inmates of homesteads. The thatched huts of the natives, with their frail walls and doors, are not sufficient security against these powerful reptiles. When captured and cut open it is not unusual to find in a crocodile's stomach ornaments worn by women and children as well as other indigestible articles, the only evidence of the death of the victims it had devoured.

When one of these monsters becomes bolder and more dangerous than usual, the people arrange to destroy it and they track the enemy with the greatest pertinacity in their boats. As soon as seen they harpoon it and have a buoy tied with a long cord to the end of each harpoon. The buoys prevent the crocodile from escaping. The creature is forced to come up and is soon harpooned a second and third time and so on until it is exhausted. When half killed, they drag it ashore and despatch it with loud execrations.

In appearance the crocodile is clumsy and sluggish ; but at sight of approaching danger or when attacking prey it moves with great rapidity and strikes with tremendous force.

That this reptile learns to obey the call of man is well known. Those kept in sacred tanks are trained to do so. Faqirs pretend to possess power over these creatures and to keep them under control. Woodcutters and others who frequent the jungles, declare that the power of a faqir is so great that he can make crocodiles rise or sink in water by his charms and that by his exorcisms their mouths are closed and they are prevented from doing any harm.

Tame crocodiles may be seen in the tank that faces the tomb of Khan Jahan and also in the one near the Satgambuz (mosque of seventy domes) in the Bagherhat sub-division of the Khulna district. When called by the faqirs of the place, they respond and are invariably rewarded by being fed with a fowl or a kid. These have not been known to attack man.

Some superstitious beliefs about the curative properties of parts of the crocodile prevailing among the people of the Sundarbans may be mentioned here.

The two upper and two lower large teeth of the reptile are said to be efficacious in the cure of rheumatism and gout and are worn tied to a string at the waist of the person who may be suffering from these diseases.

A large tooth mounted in gold and worn at the waist is believed to be a remedy for hysteria.

The fat of a crocodile is said to be a cure for rheumatism. A bit of the tail, dried and kept within a *maduli* (a small drumshaped ornament), which is worn by the natives on the left arm, is alleged to be a remedy for piles.

The flesh dried and cut in small pieces and given to cattle within plantains, is supposed to be a cure for cattle disease.

Crocodiles' eggs are said to be a cure for asthma. An egg is stuffed with rock salt and buried in the ground near the oven on which the daily meals are cooked. It is taken out after 15 days and the contents given to the patient ; each dose should not be more than can be held on the top of a two-anna piece.

A superstition prevails that, if the most perfect tooth of a large crocodile be put in a stream or tank; it has the power of making the water so clear that anything at the bottom may be distinctly seen.

The fear of injury from these monsters is so great, the loss caused by them so enormous, and the consequent affliction so intense that the following sayings have become current among the people :—

“ The tiger of the jungle, the crocodile of the river, and the dishonest zamindar and gantidar of the land—who can combat them ? ”

“ The tiger for his cunning, the crocodile for his adroitness, and the zamindar and gantidar for their craftiness in oppression—fear them equally.”

NOTICES.

ARTHANITHI—(Elements of Political Economy in Bengali by Professor
• Jogindra Nath Samaddar, B.A., F.R.E.S., F.R., Hist. S. etc., of
Hazaribagh. Published from The “Prithiber Itihast” office
Howrah, Re. 1, pp. 158 and 17.)

THIS is a small but well-got-up book on Political Economy—the first book of its kind in Bengali. Professor Samaddar's book is mainly divided under three headings—Production, Distribution and Exchange, but under these headings he has discussed all the main topics, including Co-Operative Credit Grain Banks, Currency Questions, and such other interesting topics. His delineation of these has been done with care and judgment and the treatment has been lucid and scientific. We believe it is the first book of its kind in Bengali and this being so the author deserves encouragement. The Hon'ble Maharaja Bahadur of Cossimbazar has borne the expenses of the publication and its dedication has been made to that gentleman. Professor Benoyendra Nath Sen of the Presidency College has written a short introduction.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CALCUTTA IMPROVEMENT TRUST FOR THE PERIOD ENDING 31ST MARCH 1912.—Calcutta Improvement Trust.

THE first Annual Report of the Calcutta Improvement Trust deals with a period of only two months, but is interesting in the indications it gives of policy and procedure. The following extract shows that the Trust are proceeding on sound lines, and with a proper sense of the relative importance of the various activities which call for their attention. It is encouraging to note that, while we have heard a great deal in times past of this and that sectional “improvement” the Trust is alive to the necessity that “the problem of Calcutta and its suburbs must

be considered as a whole," and it seems reasonable to hope that in so important a matter the very best expert advice will be secured before any general plan or scheme of communications and improvements is decided on.

"The Preamble of Act V. (B.C.) of 1911 describes the object of the creation of the Trust in the following terms :— 'It is expedient to make provision for the improvement and expansion of Calcutta by opening up congested areas, laying out or altering streets, providing open spaces for purposes of ventilation or recreation, demolishing or constructing buildings, acquiring land for the said purposes and for the re-housing of persons of the poorer and working classes displaced by the execution of improvement schemes, and otherwise as hereinafter appearing—' but in carrying out these objects the Trust has been left quite unfettered. No scheme had been prepared and handed over to it for execution. The first duty that lay before the Trustees was to determine what congested areas should be opened up, what thoroughfares should be constructed and what suburbs should be laid out to accommodate the evergrowing population of Calcutta. It was obvious that the problem of Calcutta and its suburbs must be considered as a whole and that small detached schemes should not be undertaken until a general plan of operations had been approved. In view of the complexity of the problem the principal public associations in Calcutta were consulted and replies from most of them were still awaited at the close of the year.

"Though the delay of thirteen years, which took place between the time when it was recognised that legislation must be undertaken and the passing of the Calcutta Improvement Act, is to be deplored and has rendered the operations of the Trust more difficult and much more costly, the Trustees were fortunate in having available at the beginning of 1912 figures of the Census taken in 1911 and also in finding the maps of the recent survey of Calcutta under issue. Information as to the population and the conformation of every part of the town of the most recent character is therefore available in a convenient form. Further information lies ready for the Trust in the Report of Dr. Crake, who was engaged from February to October 1911 in making a Sanitary Survey of the northern parts of Calcutta.

"Feeling the necessity of obtaining the fullest information possible the Trustees have arranged for the survey of the suburban municipalities on the scale of 50 feet to the inch, a work which is estimated to last two years, and they have also

offered to contribute one-third of the cost of a similar survey of the town of Howrah.

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"As the two months during which the Trust was in existence were months only of enquiry and preparation, this report is a meagre one. Annexed to it, however, for future reference are reproductions of certain plans which were laid before the Trustees at their early meetings. Plate I shows the areas adjoining Calcutta which have been surveyed by the Survey Department on a large scale either for the Port Trust or for Government. The remaining plates are reproductions of the ward diagrams attached to Dr. Crake's report. In view of the impending creation of the Improvement Trust, Government engaged Dr. H. M. Crake, D.P.H., one of the Health Officers in the employ of the Calcutta Corporation, to make a sanitary survey of the residential buildings in the north of Calcutta. Between 1st February and 31st October 1911 he inspected and classified 14,332 masonry buildings, lying in Wards I and III and V to XI. He prepared a plan of each Ward dealt with, showing the areas in which a varying percentage of the houses was classed as unfit for human habitation. These plans are reproduced here as illustrating one phase of the problem with which the Trust has to deal and that they may be readily accessible hereafter."

The plans mentioned above with their black record of condemned areas, are a striking commentary on the sanitary condition of the northern wards, and a study of the incidence of the worst areas goes to prove the necessity of wide and convenient thoroughfares to make the outside areas available for residential development, and equally of comprehensive schemes of improvement on sites. It seems obvious that these three things—communications, suburban development, and site improvement—are interdependent, that they should form parts of a general plan, and that they must proceed concurrently.

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